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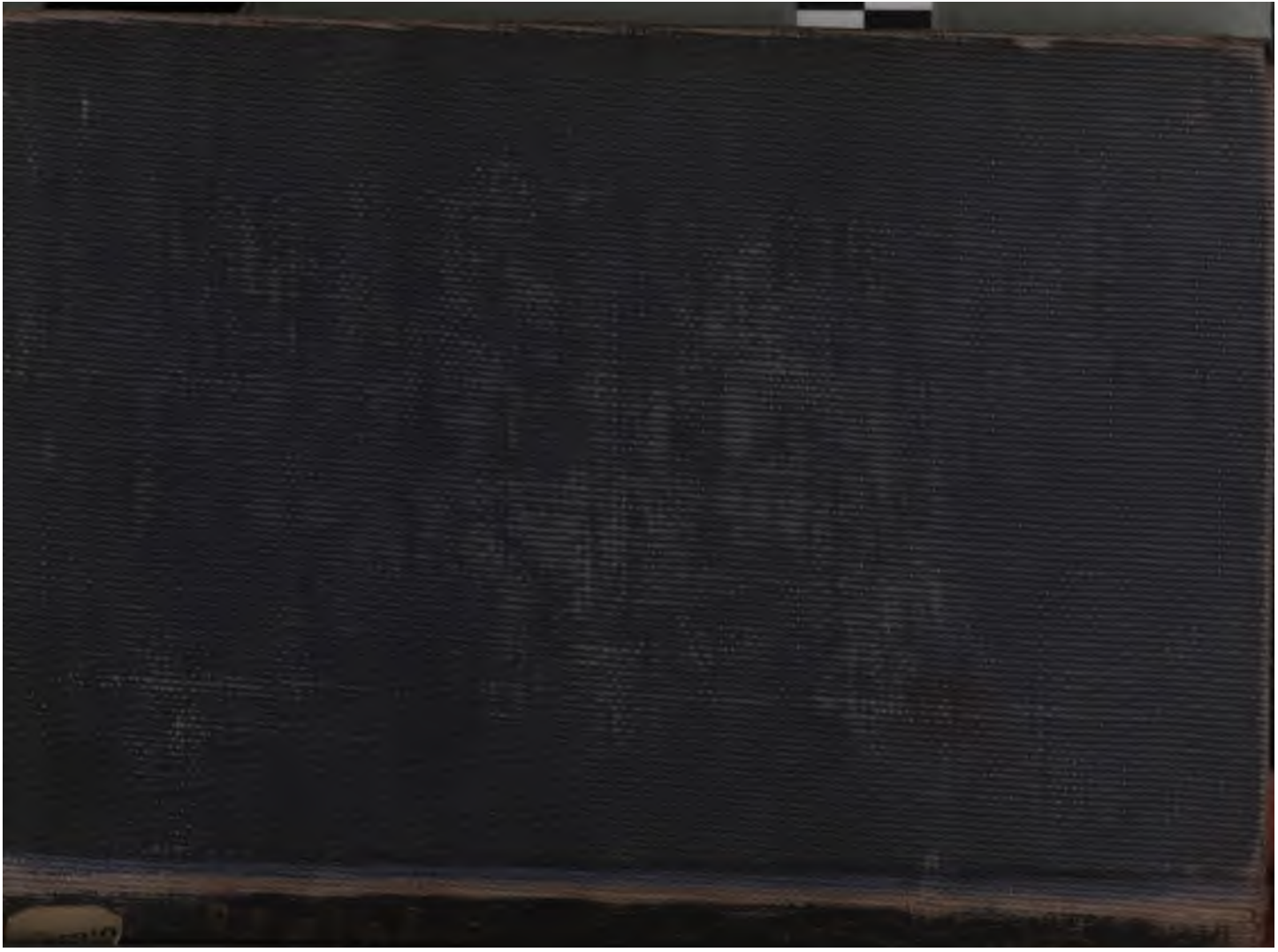

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D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATURAE XIII

THIRTEEN SATIRES OF

JUVENAL

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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PART I. INTRODUCTION, TEXT, ETC.

Oxford

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PREFACE.

THE object of the editors has been to produce an edition of Juvenal which may prove of use in aiding the students at our Schools and Universities to appreciate and understand the great Roman Satirist. They have been very anxious to try and follow the train of thought in each Satire, and to cite parallel passages from classical authors where it has appeared that real light was thrown by such quotations upon the passage before the reader. They have not always quoted at length, for fear of rendering the volume too bulky. They have found, of existing editions, Weidner's among the most useful, and have frequently borrowed from his scholarly Commentary, now, unfortunately, out of print.

Professor Mayor's Commentary should be in the hands of every student of Juvenal. The wealth of material supplied is marvellous. Friedländer's 'Sittengeschichte,' Marquardt's 'Altertümer,' Becker's 'Gallus,' Böttiger's 'Sabina,' Rich's Manual, Guhl and Koner's 'Life of the Romans,' will all be found to throw much light on the manners and customs described by Juvenal. To these should be added, Lecky's 'History of European Morals;' and, for some interesting information on questions of natural history connected with Italy, Hehn's 'Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa. Historisch-linguistische Skizzen.' This

important work has been lately translated into English, but the translation was published too late to permit of the quotations being made from the English edition. The editors have, however, freely quoted from it.

The editions of Juvenal are numerous, especially those published in England and Germany. To pass over the oldest editions, Henninius availed himself of the labours of Britannicus, Pithoeus, Rigaltius, and Grangaeus, and brought out his text with a commentary at Leyden in 1695. Ruperti brought out an edition even fuller than that of Henninius at Leipzig in 1801; and followed this by two later editions published in 1819 and 1820. The French editor Achaintre published a commentary in two volumes at Paris in 1810, chiefly valuable for his communication of different readings drawn from Paris MSS. Juvenal was edited and commented on by E. W. C. Weber (Weimar, 1825). In 1830 Madvig published his 'Disputatio de locis aliquot Iuvenalis explicandis' (Copenhagen), which was followed by 'Disputatio altera' in 1842, and by his 'Adversaria critica ad Scriptores Latinos' in 1873. In 1838 Weber published a translation and notes, and in the following year Heinrich published an edition at Bonn containing the Ancient Scholia. An edition with English notes was published by Stocker in 1845 (London). Other useful works on Juvenal are 'Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung der Satiren des Iuvenalis,' by A. L. Döllen; Kempf, 'Observationes in Iuvenalis aliquos locos interpretandos' (Berlin, 1843); Roth, 'Zu Iuvenalis Sat. 1. 115 sq.' in the 'Jahrbuch für klassische Philologie' (1860), vol. 81; Macleane's edition, 1857 (Whittaker), a judicious and sensible commentary; Escott's edition, with notes, London (Virtue), 1860, and (Lockwood), 1868; 'Der echte und der unechte Juvenal,' by Otto Ribbeck, Berlin, 1865,

a clever but hypercritical and too ingenious work; Iuvenalis Saturae, erklärt von Andreas Weidner (Trübner, 1873), an excellent edition; Juvenal, with literal English Prose translation and notes, by John Delaware Lewis; Professor Mayor's Thirteen Satires of Juvenal, with English notes: replete with erudition, but too full for a School edition; (Macmillan, 1873); Simcox's edition, in the Catena Classicorum, 1873 (Rivingtons), a work containing much that is fresh and suggestive, but much that seems over-refinement in criticism; Hardy's school edition (Macmillan, 1883).

Among modern criticisms of Juvenal as a writer should be mentioned the Essay in Nisard's 'Poëtes romains de la Décadence.' Many valuable dissertations on particular points of Juvenal literature have appeared in different German Reviews. Of these we have found useful—'Quaestiones Iuvenalianae,' by Schönaich (Halle, 1883); 'De Iuvenale Horatii imitatore,' by Schwartz (Halle, 1882); 'Iuvenal ein Sittenrichter seiner Zeit,' by Dr. P. Doetsch (Leipzig, 1874); and 'De locis aliquot Iuvenalis explicandis,' by Schmidt, 1851. Others are, Vahlen's 'Vindiciae Iuvenales' (Berlin, 1884), and Palen 'de Iuv. Satiris,' 1882.

Professor Nettleship's Essay on the Roman Satura is most instructive.

In the text the editors have mostly followed that of Otto Jahn, as adopted by Mayor; though they have in places punctuated differently from him: they have, however, corrected this text by the fresh collation of the Pithoean MS. as described by R. Beer in his 'Spicilegium Juvenalianum,' Leipzig, 1885.

The text has been expurgated so that it may safely be perused by the mixed classes in our modern English Colleges.

The editors have to return warm thanks to Professor Sonnenschein and to Mr. Evelyn Abbott for their kindness in looking through the proof-sheets, and to Professor Nettleship for several valuable suggestions, and for permission to peruse a public lecture delivered by him on Juvenal.

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF JUVENAL.

DECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS is said in a life of uncertain authenticity to have been born at Aquinum. This statement is to some extent corroborated by a line in the third Satire, where the speaker suggests that his friend, who is presumably Juvenal, may some day or other be visiting his own Aquinum. It is made more probable still by the fact that a tablet has been dug up at Aquinum in which D. Junius Juvenalis of the cohort of the Dalmatians, duumvir quinquennalis, and flamen to the deified Vespasian, dedicates a shrine to Ceres. Helvina Ceres is alluded to in the third Satire as a deity reverenced at Aquinum. Further, there is no reason for referring Juvenal to any other place but Aquinum, though a single scholiast says that some persons took him to have been a Gaul on account of his great size.

The biographies prefixed to his Satires in the MSS. are as numerous as they are unsatisfactory. Of these lives there are nine, seven of which are printed by Otto Jahn in his edition of 1851. An eighth was published from a Harleian MS. by Rühl in the 'Neue Jahrbücher' of 1854; a ninth has been found by Professor Nettleship in a Bodleian MS. of the thirteenth century. In point of Latin style, and presumably therefore of antiquity, the best of these memoirs is that printed by Jahn as No. 1. The author imitates the style of Suetonius, but not his clearness or accuracy. Of this memoir Borghesi rightly observes that Suetonius could never have written in so unsatisfactory a way of so distinguished a contemporary.

The date of Juvenal's birth is unknown. It is variously stated in the three memoirs which mention the event, one placing it in the reign of Claudius, another in that of Nero. Assuming him to

be the author of the sixteen Satires that pass under his name, he was alive a little after A.D. 127, as he speaks in the fifteenth Satire of 'things that were done lately when Juncus was consul,' and Juncus—an Aemilius Juncus, as Borghesi has proved—was consul in 127[1]. Assuming him again, as is probable, to be the Juvenal addressed by Martial in three epigrams, he was grown up, and of such literary eminence that he could be called 'facundus[2],' 'fluens,' or 'eloquens' in 93. An attempt has been made to fix his birth in the year 60 or 67, on the supposition that the words 'Fonteio consule natus,' Satire xiii, refer to himself; but the more natural construction of the passage—it may almost be said, the only natural construction—makes them relate to his friend Calvinus. If we take the tradition that Juvenal attained the age of 80, and assume that he did not live beyond the year A.D. 128, the date of his birth would be about A.D. 48, which would agree tolerably well with the facts of his history. For practical purposes it is sufficient to observe that what we know of him as a man does not take us back beyond Titus at furthest, or below Hadrian.

Juvenal is said by all his biographers to have been the son or the adopted son of a wealthy freedman. He seems to have been brought up at a good school[3]. He is believed to have practised declamation till he was of middle age, though rather as men of fortune are sometimes called to the bar in England, for the sake of an occupation, than to make money by it. The inscription at Aquinum shows that he served the most important magistracy in his native town, and held the honourable position of titular chaplain, so to speak, to Vespasian. We know that when the first college or chapter of flamens to a dead Emperor was instituted, Tiberius, Drusus, Germanicus, and Claudius were enrolled as members,

[1] Mr. Lewis and Dean Merivale prefer the reading Junius. Junius was consul in 119, which would throw back the fifteenth Satire to about 120.

[2] Prof. Nettleship rightly remarks that 'facundus' may be used of style, as in Mart. xii. 43 and Statius, Silvae i. 4. 28. Thus Martial would seem to have been acquainted with Juvenal as a writer, and the two poets may have shown their writings to each other.

[3] Satire i. l. 15. Compare Pliny's letter (iv. 13), showing that a town in Tuscany might be so poorly provided with teachers that the children of the townspeople had to be sent to Milan.

and that the rest were chosen by lot out of the first families in Rome (Tacitus, Annals i. 54). As Domitian was very careful to maintain the dignity of the Flavian line, it would seem that Juvenal's social position was good, or he would not have been admitted to this office. Later on we find him praefect or tribune of the cohort of the Dalmatians. This cohort of infantry was stationed in Britain during the times of Trajan and Hadrian, and there are traditions, one of which states that Juvenal was made praefect against the Scotch by 'the tyrant,' while another represents Trajan as banishing him to Scotland. The difficulties of understanding all this are enormous. Properly ten years' service in the ranks was required before a man could be tribune or praefect. It is true this was sometimes set aside in favour of men of position; but Juvenal, in the form in which the story has come down to us, had offended one of the Emperors by an allusion to a favourite actor, and was not therefore a man to be picked out for special distinction. Then, again, he must have been a man of a certain age, forty if not fifty, at the time of his honorary banishment. Nevertheless there is some incidental evidence that Juvenal was connected with the army, and may have been in Britain. In the third Satire he complains obliquely of the smallness of a tribune's pay. In the first (l. 58) and seventh (l. 92) he declaims against promotion by favour. In the fourteenth he scoffs at the rewards of military service. 'Destroy,' he says, 'the huts of the Moors or the forts of the Brigantes, that you may get the rank of ensign with better pay when you are sixty.' When we remember that in A.D. 103 the fourth cohort of the Dalmatians was stationed among those very Brigantes, the coincidence is at least remarkable, and it looks as if the poet were calling to mind his own unrequited service, or that of some obscurer comrade. Finally the allusions to the British whale, to British lawyers, and to the short night in Britain, are a little more precise than we should expect from one who had never been in the country. The best solution of the difficulty would seem to be if we could suppose that Juvenal, finding civil advancement out of the question, transferred himself to the army when he was no longer quite a young man, expecting by favour to be exempted from the annoyance of service abroad, and that when he allowed his unruly pen to transgress, he was punished by being

ordered on active service, as Russian liberals are sent to the Caucasus. There are reasons to be considered later on which will make it appear probable that this period of disgrace was under Domitian.

This explanation has not taken into account the common story related in Life IV, as given by Jahn, that Juvenal was sent into exile for the lines relating to Paris, the actor, that is, that he was exiled by Domitian in some year before 83 A.D., when Paris died. There are insuperable difficulties about that story in its common form. One is, that the seventh Satire opens with a high compliment to the Emperor, whom the attack on his favourite a little further on is supposed to have alienated. The other is that the legendary account represents Juvenal as dying of grief in his banishment, whereas he certainly survived Domitian by more than thirty years. Mr. Lewis disposes very happily of these difficulties by assuming that the 'histrio' mentioned in l. 90 is different from 'Paris,' and that the Satire really belongs to the time of Hadrian, 'who banished and afterwards put to death Apollodorus the celebrated architect, owing to a sarcastic expression of the latter.' It may be added that Juvenal's complaints would excite much more indignation if he was in the army. One of the lives which seems to refer the composition of the Satire to the time of Trajan, reports Trajan as having commented upon it with the remark, 'Why you yourself got your promotion through Philomela.' This would appear to show that Juvenal owed his own appointment in the first instance to his literary work. The last epigram Martial addressed to him, which was written about A.D. 104, shows that he was then in Rome making a round of visits to his patrons. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the fact that his cohort was stationed in Britain. He may have applied for furlough to visit his friends and have tried while he was at home to get moved into Italy or to get increase of rank. Neither, however, is it impossible that by this time Juvenal had completed his term of service.

There remains the story that he ended his days in Egypt. That he visited that country at some time seems probable from the life-like reference to the big breasts of the women of Meroe (xiii. 16), and almost demonstrated by the fifteenth Satire, which

must have been written towards the close of his life, and which certainly seems composed on the spot. The date of this we have seen can be fixed between 121 and 128 A.D. or thereabouts. It was therefore Hadrian who banished him; and Juvenal must have retired long ago from military service, as the time which a soldier served abroad could not exceed twenty years, and it is not conceivable that an officer of nearly eighty would have been retained on the lists. The dedication of the shrine at Aquinum belongs no doubt to this period of rest. If the Satires throw any light on the poet's life and character, he was a man divided between the love of country life and the need of that cultivated society which can only be found in a capital. At Rome he idealised the fountain bubbling up from its native turf and the rustic home with its chaplet-crowned images of wax and with heart's-ease and violet (viola) strewed on the ground. In the country he admitted that his city friend could not bear the monotony of the life for five days together.

Tradition says that Juvenal took to verse after middle life. The statement is confirmed by the internal evidence of the Satires. The second, third, and fourth may have been written in the time of Domitian, and were probably published in their present form not later than Nerva's reign. The first and eighth seem to belong to the early part of Trajan's reign. The first part of the fourth, which is perhaps distinct from the remainder, alludes to the burying alive of a vestal virgin, which happened in 91 A.D., as a recent event. The date of the fifth and tenth Satires cannot be determined from any allusions they contain, even conjecturally[1]. The remaining eight all seem to belong to the later part of Trajan's reign or to Hadrian's. These dates add very much to the difficulty of understanding Juvenal's career. They seem to imply an unbroken though not very strenuous literary activity during the period that intervened between Martial's first mention of Juvenal as a friend in A.D. 92 or 93 and the epigram noticing his constant visits to the Subura in A.D. 103. It is difficult to suppose that Juvenal wrote Satires teeming with personal allusion while he was on garrison duty in the north of

[1] Friedländer, 'De cometa a Iuv. in Satira vi commemorato' (Königsberg, 1882), fixes the date of the sixth Satire at 116 or 117 A.D.

England, and the inference would appear to be either that his residence in Britain was very short or that it must be referred to the early period of his life under Domitian. The intensity of his feeling against that Emperor would be easily explained, if Domitian really ordered him away from Rome and quartered him in a country which above all others must have been uncongenial to a townsman.

This hypothesis involves the apparent difficulty that Juvenal did something to displease Domitian, and yet did not publish the Satires which attack the Emperor till after his death. The difficulty is not a great one. The traditional life, which is all we have to go upon except the tablet of Aquinum, represents Juvenal as practising declamation for a long time, and he may have given offence by the topics treated in his declamations. The remark ascribed to Trajan that Juvenal owed his promotion to Philomela, shows that the poet was at one time favourably noticed at the court for his literary work—not necessarily a poem called Philomela—and there is no difficulty in assuming that the favour was afterwards forfeited by an indiscretion. The evidence that the seventh Satire in its present form was addressed to Hadrian and not to Domitian seems overwhelming, not only because it is inconsistent with Juvenal's general estimate of Domitian, but because Quintilian, who took pupils for twenty years, can hardly have acquired the great wealth which Juvenal commemorates as early as the year 83 A.D., when Paris was put to death. At the same time it must be borne in mind that Juvenal's Satires bear the marks in many instances of having been composed piecemeal. Often the composition is not homogeneous, as for instance in the second Satire, where an invective against the appearance of a patrician in the amphitheatre is tacked on to a diatribe against unnatural vice. Sometimes a favourite line is repeated or imitated. More often the changes are rung upon a single simile, till the effect is weakened instead of being intensified. It seems probable that Juvenal was at first essentially a reader in the Roman salons, and that he purposely constructed his poems so as to be able to omit a passage when it would be dangerous, and allowed himself a choice of illustrations which he could vary at pleasure. Later on, when the Satires were transcribed, either the poet could not bring himself to strike out the redundant

lines, or the copyist collating various editions put all that he found indiscriminately upon parchment.

There remains Ribbeck's theory that the more general and impersonal of Juvenal's Satires, the tenth, twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, with perhaps the sixteenth, and with parts of the fourth and eleventh, were not Juvenal's, but were the work of an imitator. Concerning this it may be said that while it would strike out two of the weakest, the fifteenth and sixteenth, it would also take away from Juvenal the tenth and thirteenth Satires, which are among his most finished and best. There is nothing in Roman literature of the poet's time, in Persius and Martial, in Lucan or Statius, that approaches the level of these for vigour or poetic feeling. Therefore, as Mr. Lewis has pointed out, we have the difficulty of being compelled to find a place for a poet who was only second to Juvenal, yet who was content to let his best work pass under Juvenal's name, and whom his contemporaries never detected in his forgeries. Let it be granted that it was easy for a forger to imitate Juvenal's style and to dovetail expressions that had been carefully parodied into a didactic poem. Was it equally easy to affect Juvenal's whole tone of thought so that there should not appear the least incongruity between the teaching of the true and of the false Satires? Mr. Lewis's suggestion that the declamatory Satires were the work of Juvenal's youth, and were 'touched up and added to and published along with his Satires when he had become famous through the latter,' is of very different critical value, though it can only be treated, in the present state of our knowledge, as mere conjecture. Certainly a man trained to declamation might naturally break ground on themes of such a general kind as were treated in the schools. On the other hand, Satire xiii seems to be referable to a really late date, and it is perhaps natural to suppose that Juvenal, as he advanced in years and lived at a distance from Rome, was less and less personal in his treatment of society, more and more wary how he offended great men. The offence given to Hadrian at the close of his life may have been for a very fanciful cause. The crime for which Apollodorus was put to death was nothing worse than a criticism on some shrines for sitting goddesses, which he said had been built so low that if the goddesses rose they would carry off the roofs. Lastly, when we remember that Romans

who suffered from chest complaints went to Egypt for the sake of the climate, it will appear possible that Juvenal also went there of his own accord, and that the visit to a sanitarium was confounded by tradition with his disgrace under Domitian.

In a tabular form Juvenal's life may be thus arranged conjecturally:—

Decimus Junius Juvenalis born A. D. 48 at Aquinum.

Between the age of 20 and 30 studies declamation; Vespasian being Emperor 70–79.

Between 30 and 35 is duumvir quinquennalis and flamen Vespasiani under Titus and Domitian.

Between 35 and 43 is sent on military service to Britain, where he perhaps serves under Agricola, who was recalled in A. D. 86.

Aet. 44, satirises Crispinus in Satire iv.

Aet. 45, is alluded to by Martial as 'facundus,' and in lines which imply that they were intimate and that a slanderer had tried to separate them.

Aet. 48–50, publishes Satires iii and iv, under Nerva, A. D. 96–98.

Aet. 53, publishes Satires i and viii, in the early part of Trajan's reign, about 101.

Aet. 55, is alluded to by Martial as paying visits to great men's houses, apparently as a courtier[1].

Aet. 70–72 or 78–80, writes Satires xi, xiii, and xv, under Hadrian. In xi speaks of himself as an old man living in the country: in xiii fixes the date at near 119 or 127; in xv is evidently in Egypt, to which by tradition he has been banished.

Juvenal's special place in literature is due very much to the fact that he belongs to the limited class of satirists proper. We are not diverted from the consideration of his artistic workmanship by needing to follow a narrative. Neither is his satire the mere relief to an argument or a declamation as is habitually the case with Cicero or Burke. Every line of the Roman poet is instinct with moral purpose, and beauty of form though aimed at and attained in a singular degree is throughout secondary to this. Dean Milman has spoken of Horace's Satires as 'the

[1] See p. 41.

highest order of the poetry of society,' able to bear 'the same definition as the best conversation—good sense and wit in equal proportions.' No one would speak of Juvenal's Satires as the poetry of society. Whatever their success in Roman salons may have been, it must have been due to the fact that their terrible directness of purpose and austere morality were congenial to the revival of faith and earnestness for which the period between Domitian and Marcus Aurelius is memorable. Bitter as Juvenal's epigrammatic touches are, we feel throughout that he wishes to gibbet the sin rather than the man. Even where he pauses to trifle with his subject, his sport is never the dalliance of a man of the world, impressed with the humorous side of a baseness or crime. It is the grim earnest of the teacher, determined that what is trivial and grotesque shall be lashed, before a heavier scourge descends upon what is wicked.

Why Juvenal should have chosen verse as the appropriate vehicle of his thoughts may seem at first a little difficult to explain. M. Nisard has expressed an opinion that Juvenal's real position in literature is that of a declaimer; and that his style represents a constant struggle between the energetic conciseness natural to himself and the diffuseness taught in the schools of rhetoric. We have seen from the scanty records of Juvenal's life that he declaimed in the schools till he was nearly of middle age; and no one can doubt that his style everywhere recals the orator. The lavish use of illustration, the frequent introduction of dialogue, the fervid straightforwardness of words, are all congenial to the best practice of the orator. Nevertheless the very terms of M. Nisard's criticism suggest a doubt as to its thoroughness. We have in Juvenal a consummate master of style, who has been trained for twenty years as a rhetorician, and who wields a language that was at least as perfect for prose as for verse. All at once this man deliberately chooses verse as the vehicle of his thoughts, and creates unmistakeable master-pieces, transcending his own rude models, Lucilius Varro, ay and even Horace, and influencing modern literature in its best period. Can anyone seriously think that Juvenal would have left his mark in this way, if he had written prose declamations? Would he have achieved higher success than Seneca or Boethius? Is it not the case, that like every great

satirist, he is even further removed from the orator than from the poet, and has no affinities whatever with the declaimer of schools?

Quintilian has told us in an instructive passage, that there is practically no difference between forensic oratory and declamation. The object of each is to prove a case. (Institutes, lib. xi. cap. 10.) The object of the satirist is to deal with indisputable principles, to recal or enforce truths that lie outside demonstration or doubt, and to impress not the intellect but the moral sense. A declamation on the excellence of chastity, on the advantage of scorning wealth or of living up to the obligations of a noble ancestry, would have been received with frigid acquiescence in any respectable salon of Rome. Juvenal's first object, as has been said, was to gibbet the vice; but to spare the person and expose the vice has always been a cheap exercise of virtue. The satire, however carefully constructed, was pregnant with banishment or death, and the man who dealt in work of this kind carried his life in his hands. The satirist is not properly a poet, for the poet is concerned with absolute beauty; the satirist with the awful contrasts of beauty and foulness, order and disorder. Juvenal, though he has the poetic fire, and here and there the artist's touch, stops short of being a poet, because he cares more for right and wrong than for art. Nevertheless the satirist has this in common with the poet, that his work is best done when it is achieved with the fewest possible strokes. The thought that goes to the heart, the remembrance that stirs conscience, the brief word that rings in the ear, these are the appropriate weapons of the satirist. The rhetorician, on the other hand, has to expand a theme, and no beauty of imagery, no play of feeling, no wealth of happy description, can turn a sermon into a poem. Whenever thought ceases to be suggestive and becomes dialectical, poetry and satire fade away. In either it is an acknowledgement of weakness to analyse. The sense of beauty cannot be tested with tube and crucible. The inspiration of the Hebrew prophet must flow forth unchecked like a message from God. It is the strength of moral passion, at once reticent and intense, saying little because it feels much, that imposes conciseness upon the satirist, that drew Juvenal away from the declaimer's tribune.

This theory of course implies that Juvenal was penetrated with

the thoughts his verses express. M. Nisard, who wishes to change his place in literature, has felt accordingly that it is first necessary to prove that he was a sceptic and of not more than average morality. 'One seems to feel that this man is indifferent, that he sometimes works himself into a heat to utter frigidities, that his indignation is rather of the head than the heart, and that the core of all his philosophy is perhaps the carelessness of Horace with a loftier temperament and probably purer morals.' One of the justifications of this charge is found in the fact that the three epigrams which Martial has addressed to Juvenal are disfigured by impure allusions. It is difficult to understand how anyone, who has studied the first century of our era in its literature, can assume that Juvenal was not in earnest because one of his friends was coarse. Martial wrote to men as he talked to them, and Juvenal never affects to condemn blackguard conversation except when the minds of children are to be guarded. The charge against Juvenal's want of faith is better supported by apparent evidence. 'His scoffs at religion,' says M. Nisard, 'destroy all the value of the passages in which he speaks seriously of it;' and M. Nisard proceeds to quote that exquisite passage of the thirteenth Satire (ll. 40 *sqq.*), in which Juvenal describes the golden age of Saturn, 'when Juno was still a young girl, and Jupiter a private denizen of the caves of Ida, and when there were no banquets of the gods above the clouds.' Strange that M. Nisard should not have recalled that wonderful mediaeval literature of miracle plays in which the saints, the devil, and even God himself were freely employed as the vehicles of the coarsest buffoonery. Was Machiavel the less devout for satirising the religion of his times? Did Dryden or Swift ever hesitate before a joke because it was irreverent?

If Juvenal may be allowed to answer for himself, it will be found that his views of God and men and life are thoroughly homogeneous. In religion he had a tinge of fatalism. There is a popular legend in Dalmatia which represents Fate as living in a castle, and being roused every night by a loud cry that new souls have come into the world and must have their portion assigned them. Then Fate opens a golden, silver, or wooden, chest and deals out ducats, or silver coin, or stones, with the intimation that such fortune as the new comers receive

on the night of their birth shall abide by them all their days. Juvenal almost reproduces this legend when he tells us how 'mischievous fortune stands by night smiling on the naked babes;' and transforms the beggars' brats into the heirs of great houses. (Satire vi. 605.) So again in the seventh Satire he tells us that the stars which receive the new-born babe determine whether he shall be a consul or a rhetorician. In the ninth Satire there is the same vein of thought: 'it is the fates that govern men[1].' We seem to detect in these despondent utterances the man buffeted about by the different chances of life, and perpetually deprived of the prize he thought his due. The fatalist, however, as the Turks have abundantly proved, is not necessarily a weak man, paralyzed by the reflection that it is idle to struggle against the stars. Juvenal insists in two passages, that if you are wise, you will have no patron among the gods whose special protection you invoke, and that Fortune is a divinity of our own making. Our lives are decreed beforehand, but the merciful gods have ordered them as was really best, and all we need is health and a stout heart, and an even temper that is not ruffled by misfortune and that does not blench at the approach of death.

Thus far Juvenal was a Roman, and he was a Roman also in his hatred of foreign divinities. He detested those of Asia and Egypt; he evidently looked upon those of Greece as mere literary creations. There is a scoff when he speaks of Ennosigaeus bound by Xerxes or of Vulcan black from the forge. Very different is his tone when he alludes to swearing by the altar of Ceres (xiv. 219), to whom he himself dedicated a chapel, or describes the naked effigy of Mars with spear and shield, and hanging from the soldier's helmet above the doomed enemy of Rome (xi. 108). There is not a trace of scepticism when he speaks of the sacrifice he is about to offer to Juno and Minerva and Jupiter. When he mentions Egeria, whose story Quintilian had declared (Instit. ii. 4) to be fair debateable matter, as there was plenty to say for or against it, Juvenal contrasts the old worship to its advantage with the present aspect of the grove haunted by Jews. 'Who,' he asks, 'would have dared once to laugh at Numa's sacrificial bowl?

[1] Compare Satire xvi. 4–6.

The lines in which he admits that none but the youngest boys now believe the story of another world are a wail over the decay of faith. We must accept the fact that no educated man could be quite consistent in those days, and allow for the fact that Juvenal was illogical in worshipping at any altar. His real faith was undoubtedly such as Plato might have held. He believed that there was a ruler of the universe and immutable laws; that there was a life after death; and that a man determined his own heaven or hell when he shaped his character. Beyond this, he believed that it was good to cherish certain ancestral faiths; and he probably clung to these through habit a little more strongly than he would have liked to admit. Montaigne thought that the stigmata of St. Francis might be the effect of imagination, but Montaigne took part determinately with the orthodox men of his day against the iconoclasts. Pascal summed up for religion altogether on the ground that you lost nothing and might gain by believing in it, yet Pascal, who was always on the verge of scepticism, accepted the miracle of the Holy Thorn. Juvenal lived in a society which was not unlike that of France in the times of Montaigne and Pascal; like Montaigne he was a man of the world, like Pascal a fervid believer by temperament, and like both, educated up to a point at which it was difficult to reconcile the demands of reason and faith.

'If there are no gods,' says Marcus Aurelius, 'or if they do not care for the concerns of men, what does it profit to live in a world that has neither gods nor Providence; but there are gods, and they take thought for the affairs of men; and they have put it within everyone's power not to fall into real trouble' (M. Aur. Ant. lib. II. c. xi). Marcus Aurelius goes on to explain that nothing can really affect a man's happiness that does not affect his character. That was Juvenal's belief, to which he attained by the slow teaching of years. Grand as the lines sound in which he exhorts the young noble to deem it supreme impiety to prefer existence to honour, and not to lose for life's sake that which makes life worth having, a close examination of the context will convince us that he thinks more of the unspotted name than of the untainted soul. Similarly in Satire xiv he developes a view kindred to that of modern science, that we are all the trustees of future generations, and that if we sin we incur

the responsibility of tempting our children to copy the foul example and inherit the guilty thoughts. In both these cases we get only one religion of the family. But in the tenth, and above all in the thirteenth Satire, we find a really sublime faith systematized. Juvenal never attains altogether to the scientific level. He sees that it is irrational and wrong to pray that the order of the world may be changed for a man's personal advantage, but he is not sure that the mind is not external to the universe, and that the soul may not be supernaturally transformed by the intervention of the gods. Neither is he quite a Christian. He does not desire the reformation of the sinner or believe it possible, but he rejoices in the idea that a bad man will be tortured by conscience, and that, as character is bound to run its course out, he will sooner or later plunge into overt crime and incur the penalty of the law. With these abatements, however, Juvenal's is a very high morality. He denounces revenge; he declares that the thought of sin is sin itself; he reprobates the passion for wealth; he sees clearly that the only path of a peaceful life lies through integrity; and that the highest wisdom is to be true to ourselves (xiv. 321). Further he denounces masters who are cruel towards their slaves (xiv. 19). If internal evidence goes for anything, the moral advance perceptible in these latter Satires would indicate that they belong to Juvenal's old age.

It has sometimes seemed as if Juvenal—himself a provincial of the middle classes—was extravagant in the importance he attached to the claims of birth. An abstract statement that he prefers Achilles the son of Thersites to Thersites the son of Achilles, cannot outweigh the numerous passages in which the poet denounces the unworthy pursuits of patricians as the last portent of evil times. The declaimer, not the moralist, appears to speak when Juvenal declares that Lentulus, who acted a crucifixion on the stage, ought to have been crucified in earnest; or that the gladiator compelled to fight with Gracchus endured a disgrace which was worse than any wound. Nevertheless, if we test the poet by his contemporaries it will be found that his point of view is that to which the historian appeals, and that which was generally deemed conclusive. Personal self-respect, the sense of personal dignity united to the hereditary feeling of the obligations of patrician birth, had been the secret of the

greatness of Rome for centuries. Thoughtful men who looked round them under the Empire, and who saw a government that rested on force, and a society that only respected wealth, might well ask themselves if any single cause contributed more to the decay of the Empire than the degradation of the nobility. That the emperors had risen above the restraints of public opinion, and that they exacted some act of flagrant indecency from the heirs of noble names as a guarantee that they did not meditate reforms, might easily seem to a patriotic gentleman who mixed in good society and shared its prejudices, the worst sign of the times. Let us add to this the singular importance which antiquity always attached to social tact and an observance of the conventional proprieties.

The feeling that led Augustus to withdraw Claudius into private life, because he was hopelessly awkward: the opposite feeling that made Alcibiades a power in the State through his personal beauty and grace, his insolent manner and fluent speech: do we need more than this to understand Juvenal's scale of moral crime which places, in a deliberate though no doubt an overwrought invective (Satire viii. 215-226), the writing of bad poems and acting on the public stage above incest and murder? Juvenal is not alone in this opinion. Tacitus tells us that if the conspiracy of Piso against Nero had succeeded, it was believed that Subrius Flavius had arranged with the centurions to slay Piso himself, and that Seneca was a party to the plot, 'for in what way would the public infamy be lessened, if the fiddler were thrust aside and the actor put in his place?' (Annals lib. xv. 65, cf. 67). Plutarch tells us that Galba's fall from power was predicted by the acutest observers because of his undignified appearance, his bald head and wrinkled face; and that when Honoratus pleaded for him before the troops he did it by recapitulating Nero's crimes in the same order as Juvenal. 'Has Galba murdered his own mother or his wife? Or has he made you ashamed of your Emperor by appearing as a fiddler or an actor on a stage?' There was high warrant for this habit of thought in the opinion which Junius Mauricius expressed in Trajan's council-chamber, that it was a pity the contests of gladiators could not be put down even in Rome; and the satisfaction with which the great Emperor Marcus Aurelius

relates how he was trained not to care for the sports of gladiators, may serve to show what the best Romans felt upon this matter. Orestes slaying his mother was the interpreter of the old laws of the blood-feud, and the gods themselves dared not condemn him. Nero, when he slew Agrippina, had at least the extenuating causes of fear for his own life, and passionate revulsion against his mother's rule; but Nero, garlanded and anointed, strumming a harp on the public stage before Greeks and Syrians, was wantonly degrading the gods of a great patrician family, and desecrating the office of Pontifex Maximus.

Even in times near our own the profession of a player has been regarded as infamous by men who reflected the feelings of patrician society, and whose intellect might be supposed to raise them above its prejudices. 'A gentleman,' says Montesquieu in his notes on England, 'had on various occasions betted as much as a hundred guineas at one to ten that he would act on the public stage. To play a part in order to get a thousand guineas! and this infamous action is not looked upon with horror.' Horace Walpole expressed a genuine contempt when he affected to doubt whether Madame du Barri would acknowledge Lord Barrymore as a relation when she found him 'turned strolling player.' Lord Barrymore's offence had been pretty exactly that of Gracchus or Lentulus. He had acted twice, once in a private theatre, and once on the public stage, to promote the benefit of an actor who was one of his friends. Horace Walpole could not regard these appearances as a crime, but he felt them to be a grave impropriety, which of itself disqualified the man who committed it from fellowship or kindred with patrician society.

It is part of the same spirit of national pride in Juvenal, that he abhorred the affectation of speaking Greek and the craze for Greek accomplishments, which were overspreading Roman society. Cicero had many years before remarked that a patriot should read a notoriously wretched translation of Sophocles rather than the original. Béranger's dictum, 'I like a Frenchman to be a Frenchman,' is anticipated in the vigorous lines of the sixth Satire; 'she will ask for everything in Greek, though it is far more shameful for our own people not to know the Latin tongue.' National antipathy never went further than in the

assertion that no modest woman ought to speak Greek after she had reached a certain age; but the gentle hint that a guest at the poet's table is to ask in Latin for what he wants is unexceptionable in tone. The serious motives of Juvenal's antipathy are admirably explained in a passage of Tacitus (Dial. de Orat. 28–29). Tacitus makes Messala describe how in the good old times the mother brought up her child on her own knees, and committed its education later on to some elder or ancient lady of the family, who never allowed her young charges to indulge in a foul word or an indecorous act. 'But now,' Messala goes on to say, 'the child as soon as it is born is entrusted to some Greek hand-maid who is helped by some one or other, not unfrequently the lowest of all the household, and who is not even fitted for any serious service; the tender and unformed minds presently receive the impress of these creatures' fables and delusions; nor does anyone in the whole house consider what he says or does before his young master.' What the 'famished Frenchman' of Dryden's time was to the Englishman, the hungry Greekling was in a much more real sense to the Roman of the old school. It was the Greekling who taught the child a foreign tongue and corrupted the boy (Petronius cap. xi), the Greekling who infected Roman civilization with exotic tastes, who thrust Italians and old family dependents from the household, who governed the family by becoming master of its secrets.

So strong a hatred of whatever was not Italian, though it might act as a safeguard against foreign fashions and superstitions, had its failing in keeping the poet from sympathy with a great deal of the best moral thought of his times. Juvenal at least was not a philosopher to whom in the language of Gibbon's famous antithesis all modes of worship were equally false. He rather resembled those literary purists of France and Spain, who have declined to learn a foreign language for fear of corrupting their native style and vocabulary. It was his boast that he had never cared to read the doctrines of the Cynics, of the Stoics, or of Epicurus, and we may fairly assume that he intended the repudiation to cover all Greek philosophy, in spite of a few words of admiration for Chrysippus and Thales and Socrates. If there was one religion that might have been supposed to commend

itself to one who probably knew nothing of Christ's teaching, it would be the Jewish faith with its simple doctrine of one God, its austere law, and its honourable freedom from immoral orgies. Some, however, of Juvenal's most scathing lines are directed against Judaism, and it is curious to notice with what skill he has contrived to discover all the weak points in its harness. The belief in an abstract cloud-like deity without a mediator, the prohibition to eat pork, circumcision, the fierce intolerance of other nations' customs, the prejudice against the rendering of kindly offices to strangers, are all enumerated as essential parts of the religion. It may fairly be assumed that Juvenal was unacquainted with Philo's defence of his people, and that he is not to be charged with deliberate unfairness. Even so it is remarkable that he should recoil so repugnantly from naked theism, and the fact may be counted as an additional proof that Juvenal was sincere in his reverence for the divinities of his own country, and liked to believe that he lived in a world where the gods were near men. His reproach of a bitter caste feeling against the Jews may seem to come with an ill grace from one who certainly would have regarded a marriage between Jew and Roman as impure, but it marks the change which world-wide Empire and its necessities had introduced since the time when a Roman citizen could not contract any obligation of the highest religious validity from marriage (connubium) to sale (sponsio) with a foreigner.

Juvenal's attitude towards literature is that of a man who wished to rise by it, and who was bitterly disappointed that neither eloquence nor poetry had helped him on in the race of life. The undesigned evidence of the Satires goes to show that he was rather the practical man, wielding literature as a weapon with which to hew his way in the world, than the literary man regarding study and the pursuit of the Muses as the highest good. When he speaks of how to train a child, he says that he is to be educated for statesmanship and military service and the management of an estate, and he praises the old austere life on a farm, but he nowhere gives a hint that philosophy or poetry is to be studied. His own boast that he was unlearned in Greek philosophy, and the fierce diatribe against learned women, and the scorn of Greek versatility must be taken as

more than outweighing the genuine affection and respect evidently felt for Vergil, and the casual eulogies of Quintilian, Lucan, and Statius. It is probably to be imputed to a defective taste, that the men whom Juvenal singles out in this way for praise are declamatory and florid and given to false antithesis, and that he never glances off to admire the stately conciseness and nervous strength of Tacitus, or the epigrammatic form of his own friend Martial. It is difficult also to resist the impression that Juvenal was half ashamed of literature; and that while he conceded the highest honours to a few of the immortals, such as Cicero and Vergil, he inclined to regard the pursuit of letters, where it was not justified by high genius, as disgraceful to a man of the highest family. He himself, a man of the middle class, who had endured the sea and the helmet and the spade, might without dishonour try to push himself by reciting satires, but it was a count in the indictment against Nero that he had written 'Troics.' The seventh Satire is throughout an enquiry how far literature and the learned professions pay. Poetry is put aside because the Thebais of Statius does not bring in money like a successful play; and of course on the same principle, it was a mistake to write 'La Légende des Siècles,' and Victor Hugo would have been better employed on composing a Homeric travesty for Mdlle. Schneider. So again, the bar is condemned because its profits are carried off by a few leaders; and the profession of a teacher of rhetoric or grammar, because pupils are troublesome and parents stingy. Meanwhile, Juvenal, who had learnt to regard his literary life as a failure, was producing greater works than the wealthy amateur, Lucan, or the literary mechanic, Statius, precisely because he was not writing for amusement or for the profits of a rapid sale, but out of the depths of a burning indignation. The man's whole life, good and bad, is in his verse; personal disappointment and resentment, the scorn of whatever was foul and weak, the love of whatever was lofty and brave and Roman.

It can scarcely be doubted that Juvenal's Satires were written for recitation. We can still trace the passages in which the poet had introduced a deft allusion and paused for applause; those in which he had contrived a surprise, that almost loses its point with a reader; and those in which he varied his effects

for different audiences by a choice of illustrations, any one of which could be dovetailed into the main structure of the poem. There were several ways in which a poet might recite. He might try to collect a crowd in a temple, or some other place of public resort, or he might get the loan of a room from a wealthy patron, or he might wait to be asked at a private party. The contempt with which Juvenal alludes to the public reciter, the bitterness with which he speaks of dependence upon a patron for the mere use of a hall, are slight reasons for supposing that he addressed select audiences, invited probably by circular, and meeting under a roof. There is evidence that recitations were very frequent in Rome, and that the necessity of attending them was felt to be a grave social infliction. Pliny, who mentions on one occasion that there had been public readings every day in the month of April, lets us know that a great many hearers went reluctantly and did not stay out the reading, and apologises on another occasion for going himself, on the ground that he was repaying a friend for attentions of the same kind. Pliny, however, records also that during a time of political liberty, probably under Nerva or Trajan, recitations became popular, and men were found to recite three days running, and could get audiences to listen to them, not, he remarks, because there is more eloquence than there used to be, but because it is possible to write with greater freedom, and so with greater pleasure to oneself. Juvenal's Satires—teeming with allusions that would be caught up in a moment, and breathing the spirit of aristocratic feeling as it lingered in the best sets—are precisely the kind of literature that would be fashionable in such breathing-times as Pliny describes.

A poem written for recitation must, from the nature of the case, differ from a poem that is written to be read. It must be absolutely transparent. The reader may pause and think till he has mastered a subtle allusion or comprehended a deep thought more fully; the hearer is justly impatient if he loses the thread of an argument and cannot recover it. Juvenal's very style is direct. When he is not making positive statements, every point of which may be concluded in two or three lines, he is either ejaculating or asking questions. Lest a point should be missed he repeats it, and accumulates illustration upon illustration. Like almost every

trained public speaker he will sooner have a faulty construction than fail to call up a complete image before the eye. In the first Satire, lines 40 and 41, beginning 'unciolam Proculeius habet,' and part of lines 60 and 61, beginning at 'nam lora tenebat,' are parentheses which offend the taste as we read them. Juvenal was probably right in judging that the want of the 'callida junctura' would not be perceived by a mixed audience, and that every fresh epigram added life and sparkle to his declamation. Latterly this vice of amplification grew upon him. In the thirteenth Satire he compares the prodigy of an honest man to (1) a boy, or (2) fishes turned up by the plough, or (3) to a mule that foals, or (4) to a shower of stones, or (5) to a swarm of bees pendant, or (6) to a river of milk. It is probable, as I have suggested above, that in some of these cases the lines were used interchangeably, so that the jaded sense of an accustomed audience might be quickened by novelty. The fault, however, belongs to the very texture of Juvenal's work. He had to write down to the level of what was after all a fashionable mob, in spite of its training in Greek literature and its political interests; and he could not trust himself to convey a simple thought in the adequacy of a simple expression.

There was another alternative to the arts of rhetoric. A poet might renounce the sense of proportion and trust, like Lucan, to conceits that have the flavour of genius or, like Statius, to what Mr. Merivale has called 'the exquisite finish of successive periods.' The result, as we know, is that it is difficult to find a really weak line in the Pharsalia or the Thebais, and impossible to call either a great poem. There is the vice of unreality about both; obscure machinery, turgid metaphors, or the cultivated commonplace of poetic diction. Reading either poem we seem to understand why it was so possible to admire them unreservedly. As the faultless lines were rolled off one by one, they filled the room with a very grateful aroma of flowers from the tomb of Vergil. The right god interposed in the right place; the heroes fought like Achilles or Aeneas; the appropriate epithets for every supernatural power and every passion had been so happily varied, that the mind was never perplexed by novelty and never wearied by remembrance. Juvenal has not disdained a little of this art of literary music. Here and there with a

master's touch he interweaves a line or a word that recalls a Roman classic[1]. More often still he gives us a line or two of heroic warmth, or calls up an idyll of country life, as if to show that he was poet as well as satirist. Habitually, however, he was careless of language for its own sake and of the prettinesses of language. It is his thought that makes his style and that determined his choice of a subject. It was his supreme merit to understand that the Aeneid—itself the result of learning and reflection rather than a poem of natural growth—was an experiment that could not be reproduced. Not caring to turn out literary rococo, and wishing to speak directly to the great world, he decided to talk of what the great world really cared about; the last scandal, the state of the times, the decay of the patrician order. He had to find the secret of attracting and keeping crowds together, in his vigour, his pungency, and in the skill with which he called up thoughts that it would have been dangerous to utter aloud, or that appealed to a vein of latent scepticism. Take the fifth Satire. It is imitated from Horace, and on the whole a dull one, but it is easy to note the places at which a tremour would have run through the listening crowd: the allusion to the wine which Thrasea and Helvidius used to drink garlanded; the comparison of the mushroom to that by which Claudius was poisoned; the mocking simile of Auster drying his wet wings in his dungeon-cave. Take again those often misunderstood lines of the first Satire, where the poet asks, 'whence are we to get back our fathers' old simplicity, whose name I do not dare to pronounce?' Is it difficult to understand how men just emancipated from a despotism would thrill as the word indicated by 'simplicitas'—the word which it had been dangerous to pronounce,—'libertas'—rose instinctively to every lip?

The danger of the rhetorical style is that in the hands of an inferior artist it becomes overloaded with ornament and excludes simplicity. The orator is alarmed lest he should seem to be putting cloth of gold upon cloth of frieze, and falls into the more dangerous error of stringing together a collection of purple patches. A great public speaker avoids this by making his

[1] See for instance Satire vii. ll. 58, 62, and 66, referred by Mr. Lewis, I think rightly, to passages in Ovid, Horace, and Vergil.

narrative or argumentative parts strong in a severe concision and only now and again rising, as if under protest, to the point at which passion is appealed to. Juvenal not unfrequently is the first to laugh at his own vehemence. He recapitulates all the infamies of Rome, and says that indignation inspires verses, 'such as I can write . . . or Cluvienus.' He turns from a vigorous apostrophe, recapitulating what the plebeian Decii and Numa had done, to a pithy suggestion that every patrician is descended from a shepherd or a felon. The noble burst with which the second Satire concludes is carried on with undiminished fire and elevation, till the poet arrives at the sentiment that the conquered nations have a severer morality than the conquerors. At that point it may well be that Juvenal was embarrassed by his own success. To complete the passage without declining into a platitude, might seem as difficult as it has proved for modern art to determine how the missing arms of the Venus of Melos ought to be restored. Accordingly the satirist drops at once into a cynical sneer at a single degrading episode of contemporary scandal. It is noticeable that in the third and tenth Satires, which have been very carefully finished, this artifice is never employed, and it is less and less general in the later poems. There is an exception in the thirteenth Satire, where a fine picture of the bad man's questionings whether he may not risk offending the gods since their mills grind slowly, is succeeded by a grotesque picture of the despoiled man's wrath and of the complaints hurled at heaven for its ineffectual justice. On the whole, the third Satire, with its equable flow and serene dignity, may be regarded as marking the highest level which Juvenal attained, and its success may seem conclusive against the rapid transitions of the other early Satires. It must be borne in mind, however, that as a rule the pieces first in order are superior to those which are supposed to be later in time, and the precise faults charged against these, a turgid declamatory diction and a stilted morality, may reasonably be held referable to the difficulties of keeping the style always intense.

The better side of eloquence comes out now and again when Juvenal animates a tame thought with a spirited apostrophe or a vivid illustration. Nothing can be more correct or unimpassioned than the sentiment that the tutor ought to take the

place of the parent. In Juvenal's hands it is prefaced by two exquisite lines, wishing the wise ancestors who introduced the practice a light grave and fragrant daffodils and deathless spring in their urns. It is followed up by a playful image of Achilles shrinking from the rod under the care of a long-tailed centaur. The vanity of life is a common-place of the moralist, but was it ever condensed with such incisive strength as in the words of Naevolus, 'While we drink, while we call for garlands and perfumes and girls, old age is creeping up and we see it not?' Or again, were the lamentations of the jaded voluptuary ever more scornfully thrown back than in Juvenal's reply: 'Do not be afraid, as long as these hills stand you will never want a patron to employ profligacy?' Horace would have ended the fourth Satire with the breaking up of the council, whose members have deliberated over the best method of dishing up a turbot, as if it had been a question of saving Rome when the Sigambrian was outside the gates. Juvenal has his moral lesson to enforce, his rhetorical point to make, his high-born audience to please. After all, were not these trifles, he asks, better than the day when the tyrant plotted murders that remained unavenged as long as only the best blood of Rome flowed, and till all others trembled?

Supremely artistic by observation and in the choice of words, Juvenal had the quick eye of the sportsman and the soldier, and an instinct for using picturesque images and lines in which the sound is an echo to the sense. How many men of those days felt as he did, that something of a divine presence had disappeared when the bubbling spring was walled about with marble instead of being left to its native sandstone and green turf? How many other men would have noticed the twittering of storks in the Temple of Concord, or would have thought of a garret as the place where pigeons built, or would have lingered over the picture of a country child hiding its face in its mother's lap as the actor grins through a whited mask, or would have understood the secret yearnings of the country boy to see once more his mother and the cottage home and the goats playing round it? When Persius wants to make the picture of death vivid, he gives us a medical description of the muddy complexion, the sluggish digestion, the convulsions that come on at meal time, the chattering teeth, and the morsel falling back un-

tasted, till in due time he brings us to the dead man lying out anointed and with his feet pointed stiffly to the door. Juvenal scarcely pauses over the accident that crushes the plebeian out of life and recognition, but he calls up image after image of the household washing the dishes and blowing up the fire and preparing the flesh-scrapers and the anointing oil, while the ghost of the unburied man sits shivering by the black river, and cannot pay its passage to the other side. Were it possible seriously to doubt that Juvenal wrote the tenth and the thirteenth Satires, scepticism would disappear before the traces of minute observation. The comparison of the old man fed by hand to the callow young of the swallow gaping for food; the reminiscence of the mother ape's wrinkled pouch, the allusion to the girth, and the picture of the blue-eyed Germans with their yellow hair damped and twisted into curls, are authenticated by the sign manual of the satirist who described Domitian's counsellors and who limned Hippia and Messalina. Sometimes a single vigorous word is a picture and an epigram in itself. Scorn cannot well go further than in the epithet of 'rosined youth' (like the 'gommeux' of modern Paris), and the conception of the high windows which call up a cloud before the eye that looks down from them, is wonderfully rendered in the single word 'caligantes.' No doubt something must be set down to the fashion of the time which affected literary bric-a-brac, and delighted to take words moulded by Cicero or Caesar from the provincial idioms if they were expressive and sounded well. In Juvenal, however, the language is never in excess of the thought, and we must set it down to his country training or to something in his temperament that anticipated the modern Italian, if he employs homely terms redolent of the farm[1] and diminutives such as flow naturally from a Tuscan or Roman of to-day[2]. It is more difficult to prove that Juvenal, in his absolute command of metre, now and then contrived that a cadence should suggest a thought. On a matter of this kind the ear is the only judge, and it is not infallible. Three passages may

[1] Caballus, russeus, potestas for magistrate (podestà), scrofa, olla, etc.

[2] Rancidulus, lividulus, candidulus, pallidulus, parvulus, pellicula, foculus, nutricula, flammeolum, fraterculus, virguncula, hortulus.

serve as an illustration of what is meant. One is a line that describes a short woman standing up on tip-toe to be kissed:

'Et levis exerta consurgit ad oscula planta.'

Another is a passage that describes the hurry and tumult in a house that has taken fire:

'Iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert
Ucalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant.'

In a third the fate of Caius Silius seems indicated by the heavy fall of the line:

'Rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis.'

Mr. Lewis in a very forcible passage has pointed out that Juvenal is of all ancient authors the most distinctly modern; that his pictures are like those of Hogarth; and that he has often been imitated by modern writers, such as Boileau and Johnson. It will be found that the notes of a modern style which belong to Juvenal are straightforwardness, minute observation, the love of sharp contrasts, and the trick of disguising moral earnestness in irreligious language. Banter, humour, sly irony are as alien to Juvenal's temperament as broad farce to his subjects. He is trying to teach truths, not to paint pictures; and if every dozen lines are rich with imagery or suggestions of city life and household scenes, it is because the man who walked Rome with his heart boiling at what he saw, took in every group and gesture and act that had a moral significance. It is, however, in the exaggerations, so to speak, of his style, and its apparent profanities, that Juvenal is more English than Italian and more American than English. 'Orestes did not murder his wife and sister, did not poison his relatives, did not write a bad poem.' Admitting the point of view from which a Roman regarded an exhibition of bad taste and folly in a ruler of men, there can be no doubt that Juvenal meant to startle the imagination by the violence of his comparison. American wit abounds in sharp contrasts of this sort, as, for instance, when Mr. Lowell declares that if he happens to see a slaughterer on his way home from his day's work, 'forthwith my imagination puts a cocked hat upon his head and epaulettes upon his shoulders and sets him up as a candidate for the Presidency.' So again with Juvenal's

suggestion that there may once have been chastity in the world, but that it was before Jupiter got his beard: what is this but a classical anticipation of

'They did not know everything down in Judee?'

Because Juvenal had the Puritan fibre and lived in a world of his own, where morality was the only real existence, he could afford to jest with his own creed in a spirit of confident faith.

Those who have thoroughly apprehended that Juvenal only employed literary art to enhance moral teaching, will understand one of his worst defects, that he is apt to repeat himself. In the eighth Satire, to take a single instance, there is an attack on the patrician who loves horseflesh, which seems expanded from the first Satire; an attack on Gracchus which had been more vigorously given in the second; and a parallel between Cicero and Catilina, which was afterwards worked up for second use in the tenth Satire. It may be the fault of a manuscript that the same lines are sometimes used more than once, as in the famous instance of the apostrophe to Fortune (x. 355, 6; xiv. 315, 316); but it cannot well be accident, when the same thought reappears, as in the case of the unequal penalties meted out to sin in this world (xi. 176, 8; xiii. 104, 5), or where the poet declares that the catalogue of a lady's adulteries is too long to be told (x. 220; xiv. 26–28). If Juvenal had cared only for perfection of form, it can scarcely be doubted that he would have avoided this recurrence of thoughts and illustrations. Gracchus cannot have been the only noble who disgraced himself; and there were of course other instances of patrician vice and plebeian virtue besides Catilina and Cicero. What the poet was really concerned with, however, was not the form of his teaching but its essence, and he was indifferent to iteration if one particular example happened to be the best of its kind. The same reason explains Juvenal's comparative deficiency in humour. With his keen perception of foibles and ready sense of the ridiculous, it might seem that he ought to have rivalled Horace, but even in the fourth Satire, where the subject is purely comic, Juvenal's grim earnest gets the better of him. The picture of the trembling Counsellors of State, called in to deliberate how a turbot shall be cooked, is made so sombre that instead of laughing

at their cowardice we recoil from their baseness or shudder at their wickedness. The mellow Crispus, who did not stake his life upon honest speech, Crispinus reeking of balsam almost as foully as two corpses, and Pompey who could slit throats by a piping whisper, are all such figures as Michael Angelo might have designed for a group in hell.

It remains only to notice Juvenal's influence upon modern literature. The poet in whom he most completely lives again is Dryden, who translated five of the Satires (i, iii, vi, x and xvi). Dryden has the same vigour of expression, and a similar earnestness of tone, but seems to want the light touches which relieve Juvenal's shadows. Whenever we take a parallel passage we shall be conscious that the Roman poet with all his austerity is the truer artist. Dryden tells us of the Egyptian gods,

> 'Such savoury deities must needs be good
> As served at once for worship and for food.'

Juvenal remarks with quiet scorn,

> 'O sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
> Numina.'

Compare again the coarse positivism of the description of

> 'Bull-faced Jonas who could statutes draw
> To mean rebellion, and make treason law'

with the incomparable picture of

> 'Saevior illo
> Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro.'

On the other hand Juvenal has shown no capacity for limning such exquisite portraits of character as Dryden has left us in the descriptions of Achitophel and Zimri. In matters of that sort, Dryden was the dramatic poet, thinking out the man in his innermost thoughts and extravagant caprices, while Juvenal was nothing more than the moralist declaiming against an incarnate vice. Just the half-finished sketches of Crispus and Catullus remain to attest a power upon which its possessor never really drew; but Crispinus, Oppia, Sejanus, Messalina pass before us as shadowy and unsubstantial as the personified miseries of Vergil's hell, 'Metus et malesuada Fames et turpis Egestas.'

While Dryden qua satirist was the Juvenal of an English court,

Boileau with less real power and even less literary art, was paraphrasing some of the best Satires, the third, the sixth, and the eighth. By cutting up the third into two (1 and 6) and separating the description of the corruptions of town life from that of its discomforts, Boileau throws into strong and exaggerated relief the trivial scenes which in Juvenal serve as a foil to the intensity of moral declamation. It is however in the imitation of the eighth (Sat. v.) that Boileau's weakness is best seen. Boileau tells us in fourteen tedious lines (57 sqq.) that were you the descendant of Hercules and withal a man of no account, the ancestral honours are 'mere chimaeras;' 'I see nothing in you but a coward, an impostor, a traitor, a villain, a deceiver, a liar, a fool whose fits resemble madness, and a rotten branch of a very illustrious trunk.' Bathos can hardly go further, and the general feebleness is not redeemed even by the comparative vigour of one couplet:

'Et tout ce grand éclat de leur gloire ternie
Ne sert plus que de jour à votre ignominie.'

Juvenal is better than Boileau at his best in the parallel passage:

'Incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
Nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.'

But above all Juvenal's fertility is conspicuous. He does not amass epithets, but he multiplies pictures of patrician degeneracy, and calls up vivid illustrations of what the real nobles had been by whom the greatness of Rome grew. Even where Boileau is at his happiest he never rises to the nervous energy of his model.

'Je ne puis rien nommer, si ce n'est par son nom;
J'appelle un chat un chat, et Rolet un fripon' (Sat. i. 51)

is wittier but scarcely so powerful as the

'Quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio,'

from which it is expanded. Where Boileau has the advantage is in dealing with the lighter and more sportive aspects of human weakness. To Juvenal it was sufficiently comic, that the learned lady should weigh Homer and Vergil in the balance[1].

[1] Satire x.

Boileau by a charming refinement makes his 'précieuse' compare Vergil and Chapelain, remark a great many defects in Vergil, and find no fault in Chapelain, except that it is impossible to read him[1]. Then again Boileau, the contemporary of Molière, had the advantage of living in an age which had detected, though it did not create, the religious hypocrite, and his description of the priest-governed woman is not only deeper and more vivid than Juvenal's of the votary of Isis, but opens up a new world in the human heart.

On the whole it is surely justifiable to say that Juvenal with all his faults stands in the very front rank of satirists, and was the one true poet of his own day.

CHARLES H. PEARSON.

[1] 'Ne trouve en Chapelain, quoi qu'ait dit la Satire,
Autre défaut, sinon, qu'on ne le saurait lire,
Et pour faire goûter son livre à l'Univers
Croit qu'il faudrait en prose y mettre tous les vers.'

ON THE LITERARY CONNECTION OF MARTIAL AND JUVENAL.

PROFESSOR NETTLESHIP has lately, in a public lecture delivered at Oxford, called attention to the remarkable correspondence between the epigrams of Martial and the satires of Juvenal. He has kindly allowed me in this note to make use of the conclusions at which he has arrived. The correspondence referred to is apparent, not merely in the view of literature held by the two poets, but in the subjects they treat, the persons they mention, the diction they employ, and their general colour; and he thinks it probable that Juvenal and Martial were much in each other's confidence, and actually worked and it may almost be said, thought, in common. According to this view Juvenal will have been much the younger man of the two, probably by some ten or twenty years. Martial died, as we know, at about the age of sixty, in the year 101 or 102 A. D. If we compare Martial, Book VII. 24, with ib. 91, in which Juvenal is addressed as 'facundus' (applied to eloquent writers as well as eloquent speakers), and if we accept the view adopted by Friedländer, that the date of Martial's seventh book is 92 A. D., we are led to suppose that Martial may have known of Juvenal as a writer as early as 92 A. D. They will thus have had ten years of intimacy, an intimacy which may be compared to that between Calvus and Catullus or that between Vergil and Horace.

This correspondence manifests itself—

(1) In the view of literature adopted by both poets alike.
Cf. Martial, IV. 49 and X. 4 with Juvenal, I. 52, 85.

(2) In the similarity of subjects treated.

(*a*) Literary debauchees.

Martial, I. 24 . . .	Juvenal, II. 1.
XII. 42 . . .	II. 129.
VII. 58. 7.	
IX. 27. 6.	
IX. 47.	

(*b*) Neglect of the liberal professions by their natural patrons.

Martial, I. 107.	The whole of the seventh satire of Juvenal might be taken as an illustration of this.
III. 38.	
VIII. 82. 5.	

(*c*) The vulgar and niggardly patron; possibly the two poets had the same person in view; perhaps the same as is mentioned by Pliny, Ep. II. 6.

Martial, III. 49 . .	Juvenal, V. 30, 110.
III. 60.	
XII. 36.	

(*d*) Life at Rome.

Martial, IV. 5 . . .	Juvenal, I. 38.
	I. 55.
	III. 41, 50.

(*e*) Comparison between Rome and the country.

Martial, XII. 57 . .	Juvenal, III. 239.

(*f*) Subject of women.

Martial, VI. 6 . . .	Juvenal, VI. 6, 93,
VII. 67. 3.	224, 246.
X. 68 . . .	VI. 185.
II. 66 . . .	VI. 490.

(*g*) Persons and things referred to by both poets alike :—

Thymele and Latinus.

Martial, I. 5. 5 . . .	Juvenal, I. 86.
IX. 29 (his epitaph)	VI. 44.

Fronto.

Martial, I. 56 . . .	Juvenal, I. 12.
V. 34.	

Chione.

Martial, I. 35. 7. . .	Juvenal, III. 136.

Bithynicus.

Martial, II. 26 . . .	Juvenal, XV. 1.
VI. 50. 5.	

Pontia.

Martial, II. 34 . . .	Juvenal, VI. 638.
IV. 43.	

Tongilius.

Martial, II. 40 . . .	Juvenal, VII. 130.

Cordus the poet.

Martial, II. 57 . . .	Juvenal, I. 2.
III. 15 . . .	III. 208.
V. 23.	
V. 26.	

Pollio the singer.

Martial, IV. 41 . . .	Juvenal, VI. 387.

Paris the pantomimus.

Martial, XI. 13 . . .	Juvenal, VI. 87.

Catullus the mime writer.

Martial, V. 30 . . .	Juvenal, VIII. 186.
	XIII. 111.

Hamillus or Amillus the schoolmaster.

Martial, VII. 62 . .	Juvenal, X. 224.

Cluvienus the poet.

Martial, VII. 90. 3 . .	Juvenal, I. 80.

Hirpinus the race-horse.

Martial, III. 63. 12 . .	Juvenal, VIII. 61.

(3) In similarity of words and expressions.

Martial, I. 20. 4 . .	Juvenal, V. 147.
I. 76. 14 . .	VII. 203.
I. 92. 9 . .	V. 162 [and 150].
II. 1. 4 } X. 4. 7 } . .	I. 18.
II. 43. 9 . .	XII. 122.
IV. 54. 1 . .	VI. 387.
V. 44. 11 . .	VIII. 89.
VI. 50. 5 . .	III. 49.
VI. 60. 10 . .	VI. 562.
VI. 71. 3 . .	VI. 325.
IX. 35 . .	VI. 402.
IX. 73. 9 . .	VII. 27.
X. 25. 5 . .	VIII. 235.
XIII. 64. 1 . .	III. 91.
X. 87. 10 } XIV. 114 } . .	XIV. 271.

ON THE CODEX PITHOEANUS,

AND OTHER CHIEF MSS. OF JUVENAL.

THE chief MS. authority for Juvenal is the codex known as the Pithoeanus, so called because it was first edited by P. Pithoeus (Pithou), in A.D. 1575. It is sometimes called 'Budensis,' as it came from Ofen, where Matthias Corvinus had collected many MSS., to Montpellier, where it is at present deposited in the Medical Library, 'École de Médecine' (No. 125). Hence it is now frequently spoken of as the 'Codex Montepessulanus.' This MS. has recently been collated by Beer, and is described by him in his Spicilegium Iuvenalianum (Leipzig, 1885). It contains altogether 84 leaves; the first three marked respectively a, b, c, being on paper of the fifteenth or sixteenth century; the more ancient portion (folios d, 1–79) consists of vellum; this more ancient portion is divided into quaternions (layers of four sheets each). This part is thought to date from the ninth century. Besides Juvenal, it contains the Satires of Persius (folios 2–13), folios 13–79 being devoted to Juvenal. Each page contains 29 lines, and a space is left in the margin five centimeters wide for the reception of glosses.

The glosses on the 'manus prima' seem to have been written by the same hand as the text.

The glosses on Persius are comparatively few; those on Juvenal are numerous and regular, with the exception that in Satire ii. 86–92 they cease altogether, and those which follow have been added, probably not long after, by another hand.

About a hundred years later another hand added the lives of Juvenal on the last folio which appears in O. Jahn's edition (Berlin, 1851). This commentator corrected the mistakes of the 'prima manus,' in many places rendering the latter almost illegible. He followed in his emendations a MS. of an inferior class; Beer, however, has been able in every case to discriminate between the readings of the 'prima' and 'secunda manus.'

The Codex was left intact till the time of the Renaissance in the fifteenth century, when several new hands appear. These, however, are of no importance.

In the sixteenth century Petrus Pithoeus, the well-known lawyer, appears in possession of the Codex, and finishes the so-called Cornutian Commentary of the tenth century, and himself adds some notes to the glosses.

The handwriting of the ninth century is in so-called Carolingian minuscules; it is free from corrections; the glosses to the beginning of a verse stand regularly to the left; those to the end of a verse are found on the right hand.

The Codex during the tenth century belonged to the monastery of Lauresheim on the Rhine; but its fate till the end of the tenth century is uncertain. In that century Petrus Pithoeanus received it as a gift from his brother Franciscus. After the death of Petrus the Codex was in the Oratoire of Troyes; thence it passed to the public library of the same town; thence to Montpellier, where it now is.

The importance of the Pithoean MS. was first seen by C. F. Hermann (De Codicibus Iuvenalis recte existimandis, Göttingen, 1847; Vindiciae Iuvenalianae, Göttingen, 1854), and by O. Jahn. The latter scholar in 1845 found that it was in the École de Médecine at Montpellier. M. Bertin collated the Codex with Pithou's edition of 1585 and sent Jahn the variants. This collation forms the groundwork of Jahn's text, which was printed in the year 1848, and has hitherto been accepted as the most perfect reproduction of Pithou's MS. Beer's collation seems the most thorough and satisfactory; and he, having examined most of the principal MSS. of Juvenal, proposes to base a new text on his collation.

Beer has also collated the so-called 'Schedae Arvirenses' lately found at Aarau and accurately described by Wirtz in 'Hermes' xv. p. 437. These contain long fragments of Satires 2, 3, 6, and 7. Wirtz conjectures that the MS. of which these fragments remain was destroyed at the time of the Reformation, it having previously belonged to the library of the parish church. These fragments were fortunately used as bindings, and by this happy accident escaped the general destruction. It is Beer's opinion, after closely comparing these fragments with the

Pithoeanus, and observing the points wherein they agree and wherein they differ, that they are copies of a common archetype.

A third MS. of great antiquity was in the hands of G. Valla, and employed in his edition of Juvenal, published in the year 1486. This MS. has now disappeared, and Valla made such careless use of it that its authority is not of much weight. A MS., D. 304, which was in the library at St. Gall, has likewise disappeared; its Scholia alone, D. 476, are preserved.

Two MSS. of the 'interpolated' class, a Medicean (34, 42) and a Leiden (82), dating from the eleventh century, contain each the following notice subscribed: 'Legi ego Niceus apud Servium magistrum et emendavi.' Other MSS., of the second class, are a Parisiensis, 7900, of the ninth century; a Parisiensis, 8071, of the tenth; a Vaticanus Urbinas, 661, and a Vindobonensis 111, of the tenth century.

ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ROME UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE.

THE state of Society at the end of the Roman Republic has been sketched for us by the master hand of Mommsen in his chapter of 'The old Republic and the new Monarchy.' We find at the period when Caesar set himself to reform the evils of the State which dominated the world, a condition of society which, had Caesar lived, might have been improved, and a decaying civilisation, which a succession of rulers fashioned after Caesar's mould might have quickened into new even though but temporary life.

It happened, however, unfortunately for Rome, but perhaps fortunately for the world, that the successors of Caesar showed themselves incapable of regenerating the State, which was diseased past all real cure. The causes of the low moral condition under the Empire are very numerous and complex; the chief ones, however, seem to be (1) the fact that Rome had no rival, and hence was tempted to fall into an increasing state of political indifference: (2) the system of slavery, which had worse results under the Empire than under the Republic: (3) the gladiatorial games and the feelings of cruelty engendered thereby; (4) the luxury and vice imported from the East together with the oriental cults, which weakened the simple Roman faith in the national gods of Rome; (5) the system of 'Clientela;' and (6) the deterioration of the purity of family life.

Independent position of Modern States.—The first and obvious cause of the difference between the position of a Roman of the Empire, and that of a citizen of a modern State, is that each modern State is merely an unit in a series of independent States which taken together make up the civilised world. Each of these States has developed a civilisation of its own, and each has a national pride in making that civilisation as perfect as possible. Moreover it is commonly true to say that the more healthy and enlightened are the institutions of any modern State, the more free and thoughtful are the criticisms it receives

from its literature and its daily press; criticisms which go far to create and maintain a sound morality, and to promote a regular moral development in each nation. Each nation of modern times, too, thinks of itself as one of a number of other nations, each developing for itself its own idea of virtue and morality; and hence each modern nation shows itself apt to profit by the criticism of its neighbours. In short, each modern Capital is the repository of the best minds which mould the destinies of the State in which it lies. In the ancient Roman world, on the contrary, we see one vast all-pervading power, careless of the criticisms of any foreign country, and only from time to time criticised by Roman satirists, or corrected and chastened by the strong hand of some ruler of exceptional goodness and force of character.

In the inhabitants of a nation possessing a world-wide monarchy, patriotism is apt to be replaced by selfish pride on the one hand, and political indifference on the other. The tendency of patriotism to decrease must necessarily grow in proportion as the citizens of a country enjoy less political rights, and feel that they have less voice in directing the future destinies of their country. The first great cause then of the decay of patriotism and the nobler virtues in Rome must be sought in the Imperial system, whereby official power ('imperium') passed into the hands of a popular chief independent of the Senate, and under which each succeeding imperator arrogated or was assigned ever new powers and new attributes.

Slavery.—But in comparing the state of society of Rome with that prevailing in modern States, we must never forget that Rome was a Slave State, and we must picture to ourselves the frightful and degrading influence of that system upon the morals and habits of a slave-holding nation. In the only great example we have had in modern times of a slave-holding State, the influence has been but too baneful and too evident. But in the case of the Southern States of America the gulf was wide between slave and master; the slave was of a race marked by nature as of an intellectual level inferior to that of those who were wicked enough to take advantage of this weakness to enslave 'God's images cut in ebony.' Similarly in convict settlements, where the criminals of the United Kingdom were,

until recently, treated much like slaves, the line that separated slave from freeman was quite distinct. The white man who came out free was, or was capable of becoming, the master of convicts assigned to him; the convict, by the fact that he was convicted, was liable to become, by assignment to a master for a definite term, practically a slave. But even in such cases as these, where the slave-owner or slave-master was separated from the slave by such broad distinctions as colour, intellect, or innocence, the effect was deplorable. Slave-masters and convict-assignees caught insensibly a cruel hard nature, of which the only redeeming feature was the personal bravery, amounting to actual recklessness of life, which men must needs possess who are aware that relaxed energy and vigilance means certain death to themselves. Agriculture, alike under the old as under the new slavery, was neglected by the ruling class: and it is well known to colonists how difficult it was to quicken into new and healthy life those colonies which had been cursed by the presence of slaves or outcasts from society. In Rome, however, it must be borne in mind that the slaves were not merely of races equal to the Italians in intellect, but in many cases superior to them. Of the Hellenes it is safe to make this assertion. To the astuteness and versatility of Syrians, Phrygians, and other Asiatics, many writers testify. If the Moors and Getae held in the slave community a somewhat inferior position, the same cannot be said of the Germans or Celts. The sight of an intellectually inferior nation ruling imperiously a more highly gifted one is more affecting, and excites deeper indignation than when the enslaved race is unquestionably inferior. The sight of a Cossack hounding a Polish gentleman over the Urals, or of a Legree abusing a well-educated Quadroon, excites more sympathy than that of a planter chastising an unfortunate negro. And the consciousness that the only superiority in the slave-owners to the slaves lies in brute force, must tend to add cruelty to the cruel, and to create jealousy whose fruit is undying resentment.

Slavery seems to have been coeval with the existence of the Romans as a people. But in the earlier ages of the Republic, when agriculture was the task and pleasure of a free man, slaves were but few in number (vid. Juvenal xiv. 168). At the end of

the Republic, the custom of maintaining slaves in larger numbers increased from several causes. The first of these was the disappearance of the yeomanry, and the division of Italy into large estates, on which slaves were preferably employed as workmen, owing to their freedom from military service[1], and to the disinclination of free men to work with them. The second cause was the increasing luxury, a fashion which came from the East, and called into being a host of wants yet unfelt, for the gratification of which additional slaves were wanted. Lastly, the disinclination of the Romans to industrial, and to many branches of professional pursuits, caused large numbers of highly educated slaves to be imported, many of whom were speedily manumitted, entered into the highest society of Rome, and became in many cases the confidants of the Emperor himself.

This is not the place to enter into a detailed description of the system of slavery in Rome. But the enormous numbers of the slaves are apt to be forgotten from the casual and scanty nature of the references made to them by writers who regarded them as a part and parcel of the ordinary commodities of life. Seneca, Tacitus, and the elder Pliny speak of the thousands of slaves to be counted in the great families of Rome. Trimalchio in Petronius does not know by sight the tenth part of the slaves he owns, and has a list brought to him each morning of the number of slaves born on his property during the night[2]. A freedman of Pompeius had whole legions of slaves, and kept a secretary to inform him daily of the births and deaths in their ranks. Athenaeus[3] complains that some wealthy Romans maintained slaves to the number of 10,000 and even 20,000, and that they employed these for show and to accompany them when they went out.

The price given for these slaves was sometimes enormous. An ordinary field labourer was worth about sixty pounds; those who had any pretensions to skilled labour fetched somewhat more. A boy is mentioned by Martial who fetched 100,000 HS., and Antonius paid the same sum for two beautiful boys who closely resembled each other. A gladiator is hired for a combat on condition that if he comes off scot free he shall be

[1] See Marquardt, vol. vi. p. 135.
[2] Boissier, ch. iv. p. 308.
[3] Marquardt, vol. vi. p. 156.

paid for at the rate of 20,000 denarii (each denarius may be reckoned at about seven-pence halfpenny), but, should he be killed, 100 denarii only shall be paid for him.

The multitude of slaves employed in the richer families of Rome was divided into certain definite castes, and each caste had to make itself master of some particular detail of the family work. The subdivision of work in the *ménage* of an Indian official of high rank may serve to give some idea of that in a rich Roman household. In the richest of these there were almost as many slaves as there are human wants to be supplied. There were slaves to announce the arrival of visitors: others to wait on them. There were special slaves to attend to the toilette of the lord of the house, others to dress his hair, others to put on his boots. Nor were the ladies behind their lords in their demands for special services and special servitors. There was a slave for their robes, a slave for their pearls, a slave to guard their purple. An inscription is even cited of a slave whose business it was to paint the face of the aged Livia! This brief recital may aid us to reflect that if so much was done for the masters by the slaves there was little left for the masters to do for themselves. Where the powers of the body are not called into action, the will is not long in following their inaction: and it was a mental as well as a physical weakness which gave over Rome's proud oligarchy bound hand and foot to the Caesars.

Gladiators.—Like the system of slavery, the gladiatorial shows formed so completely a part of the daily life of Rome that the absence of more constant reference to the subject is as easily to be accounted for as the absence of an appreciation of the theatre would be in the works of a writer of English history. At first intended as human sacrifices to appease the Manes of the dead[1], these shows were afterwards maintained to quicken into life that manly and military spirit which the Romans rightly believed to have been the life of the Republic. The comparative peace of the Empire is considered by contemporary writers, and is expressly stated by Juvenal (see vi. 286–300), to have been demoralising and productive of effeminacy. Protracted peace brought a love of wealth and ease; simplicity of life died out as riches and

[1] See Lecky, History of European Morals, vol. i. p. 288 sqq.

the means of gratifying luxury increased. The violent and unnatural passions stirred up by the Civil Wars endured under other shapes even after those wars had ceased. Such foreign wars as were waged under the Empire were fought by a soldiery composed of adventurers of all classes, bent more upon plunder than intent on serving their country. The campaigns against Germany and Britain were contested in a very different spirit and by a very different class of troops from those who fought at Metaurus and Zama. Those who had enough to gratify their luxurious tastes preferred to remain at home and to leave the fighting to be done by those who had not yet plundered their full. Thus it was that the gladiatorial shows were maintained under the Empire as a counteracting agent to the effeminacy produced by peace and inaction; but with a population so degraded as that under the Empire they passed into nothing more than an important item in the grim category of excitements which the jaded taste of the imperial voluptuaries demanded for its constant amusement. Introduced originally into Rome from Etruria[1], and, as has been stated, connected in the first instance with religion, before the end of the Republic they had become one of the most popular entertainments at Rome. The people doated on such shows, and candidates for popularity were fain to give the people the opportunity of gratifying their favourite passion. 'To give the people a hundred couples' seems to have been a stock phrase[2]. Caesar and Pompey each strove to maintain his popularity by lavish entertainments of the kind. Augustus and Tiberius found it necessary to restrict by law the number of combatants. But the frequent occasions on which these shows were given must have demanded a quantity of victims terrible to contemplate, and the spectacle of human life recklessly squandered rendered the heart callous to suffering and lowered the value at which human life was held. Magistrates on their accession to office or when canvassing for office, conquerors who aimed at maintaining their popularity, private citizens who hoped to gain influence enough to play a public part, all sought to win their way to the hearts of the Roman populace by pandering to its passion for blood. Nor was the populace content

[1] Valerius Maximus, ii. 4. § 7, quoted by Lecky.
[2] Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 85, 86; Persius, Sat. vi. 41 sq.

to stand alone in its passion for the grim sport. The Emperor to be popular must fain simulate the interest of his subjects. Thus it appears that Claudius declined to avail himself of the interval of repose which followed the morning performances in the amphitheatre, but would call for a fresh supply of gladiators to fill up the tedious interval.

Trajan after his successful campaign on the Danube exhibited gladiatorial games lasting a hundred and twenty-three days, and engaged 10,000 combatants for the occasion. Domitian built in Rome four large schools for the training of these human victims. In the country towns of Italy, such as Praeneste and Ravenna, barracks for gladiators were common, and relics of a gladiatorial depôt have been found at Pompeii. The gladiatorial 'familia' consisted in the first instance of captives taken in war and condemned criminals; but under the Empire freeborn Romans who had squandered their property frequently sold themselves to the 'lanistae' or training masters and disdained not to receive the gladiator's pay as the price of their infamy.

The consequence of the constant presence of these sanguinary spectacles was an universal tendency to hold human life cheap. The recklessness of the disciples of the 'lanista' engendered a similar recklessness in the onlookers. But in addition to recklessness and cruelty it produced in these an incapacity to find enjoyment in less ghastly and stimulating pursuits and enjoyments. It acted banefully on art, literature and the theatre. The theatre, so far from standing forth as a school for taste and refinement, merely served to whet the appetite of the spectators for all that was most sensuous and degrading. Scenes which in the skilful hands of classical poets could be treated with grace and comparative innocence were represented on the stage with a realism and coarseness which loved to dwell on their sensual aspect only. The universal passion for excitement which prevailed at Rome among old and young, high and low, spread the foul teachings of the stage with fatal effect.

Increase of luxury.—If Rome civilised the world by conquering it, the conquered could have wished for no more thorough revenge than the effect of these conquests on the victor. The disastrous beginnings of indulgence in luxury were first remarked on after

the return of Manlius from his plundering razzia in Asia in 189 (A. D.[1]) Carthage, Corinth, and Macedonia were speedily brought under subjection, and their wealth and un-Roman tastes came with the conquered to Rome.

Antonius and his orientals continued the work of degeneration; and by the time of Augustus the capital was fairly denationalised—genuine Italians were replaced by a mixed rabble gathered from half the world. The rich grew daily richer; the poor sank daily more and more into obscurity, dependence and hopelessness. Nowhere was the contrast between poverty and wealth so striking as at Rome. The influence of the stern and simple religion of ancient Rome was killed by the influx of foreigners with their strange and wild superstitions. The capital teemed with Syrian and Cappadocian priests, Armenian soothsayers, Phrygian augurs, ballet-girls from Spain, Egyptian fortune-tellers, and adventurers of all kinds from Greece. The fascinating and supple 'Greekling' was everywhere and was everything in turn. At once intellectually superior and morally more unscrupulous than the Roman, he fostered the worst passions of his employer, made himself a necessity, and rose to the highest and most confidential employments. Greek fashions and habits became models for the men and women of Rome, and to talk Greek, or at least to interlard conversation with Greek phrases, was indispensable for an Italian who would pass for well-bred. Many of the foreigners who were so potent at Rome were freedmen, and the predominance of this class, possessing as it did all the vices learnt in slavery, was amongst the most baneful effects of the foreign infusion. The complete absence of police supervision and the constant dread of famine in which the populace lived rendered the presence of these foreigners, unaccustomed to self-restraint, more dangerous and baneful still.

To these general causes must be added the demoralising example of the Imperial Court, whose commanding influence in the early Empire made itself felt in Roman society almost wholly for evil. Low intrigue, insatiable avarice hand in hand with reckless extravagance, gluttony, rapine, cruelty, such were the main characteristics of the government of the Emperors from Tiberius to Domitian. Even those who had given fair promise

[1] Cf. Livy xxxix. 6; the whole chapter is most instructive.

as princes, such as Tiberius, Claudius and Nero, fell speedily into a career of profligacy and debauchery under the corrupting influences by which they were surrounded.

'*Clientela: Sportula.*—Roman statesmen had from very early times kept open house to numerous guests, and aided them with their services. The 'cliens' as such, being a member of no community, had no rights in Rome. A man who belonged to any community having no league with Rome, or who was exiled from his own house to Rome, had no legal position. He had no choice but either to sell himself as a slave or to place himself under the protection of a Roman citizen who might maintain his personal freedom intact, but take him into his own 'potestas;' hereby obliging himself to protect his *protégé* from violence, to protect him in the law-courts, and to see him decently buried. As long as the Patricii were the only full burgesses, of course they were the only class who could patronise clients. The relations of clients to their 'patroni' were of great intimacy. The 'cliens' entered into the 'potestas' of his 'patronus' and therewith into close and intimate friendship. He took the name of his patron's 'gens,' accompanied him abroad, helped to dower his daughter, and undertook to ransom him if captured by the enemy. And the duties were understood to be reciprocal. Neither party could bear witness against the other in the law-courts: the patron deemed that his obligations towards the client exceeded those towards his blood relations, and any infraction of the duties on either side was looked on as a crime to be visited with death. 'Libertini' or freedmen are merely a species of clients. Their emancipation depended upon the expressed intention of their owner to make no use of his rights as such. But by forbearing to exercise these rights, and by declaring his intention to regard the slave as out of his 'potestas,' the master calls into being—not a citizen of Rome—but a creature lordless and homeless and needing lasting protection. Hence the 'libertus' remains in the house and service of his former master, or is furnished by him with land or funds; he adopts his late master's name, and stands as much under his jurisdiction after his emancipation as before it.

The names 'clientela' and 'clientes' under the Empire express a different relationship from that explained as prevailing under

the Republic; though the relationship indicated by these words had its origin in the later times of the Republic. In those times political life demanded that public men should have a large following, which should be manifest to the public in the shape of 'salutatores,' 'deductores,' and 'assectatores.' Prominent politicians drew such followers to themselves by services rendered, and by acts of kindness and hospitality, demanding, however, from these in return their good offices in the critical times of election. To this following belonged clients, libertini, and slaves, as well as fellow tribesmen and dependents on noble families: for the more show the public man made the larger amount of credit did he win. With the empire the political significance of the great man's following was lost; but it was still deemed mean and disgraceful in a public man to appear in public without a following suitable to his rank (Juv. vii. 142). Distinguished and wealthy men were fond of making their houses the centre of a large circle of dependents: and on the other hand the Roman disinclination for trade on a small scale, and the increasing love of luxury, good living, and social pre-eminence prevalent under the empire tended to swell the number of the hangers-on of the wealthy. And thus it was that the term 'clientela' came to be transferred from its proper meaning to signify this somewhat degrading relationship; just as the term 'patronus' came to be applied to any lawyer even when he was under no relations of obligation to the bringer of the action. The 'clientela' thus established might be broken up at will; but it bears this relation to the old genuine 'clientela' that it was based upon reciprocal service. Idlers, poets, *chevaliers d'industrie*, poor epicures, legacy-hunters, decayed noblemen, senators, and consulars, together with crowds of genuine beggars, out at elbows and out at heels, found it convenient to sacrifice their personal freedom and to become hangers-on to a great man on the chance of some windfall bringing them a rise in the world, or in search of their daily bread.

The consequence of this unnatural system was for public morality very grave. Piety, the motive which inspired the old 'clientela,' disappeared, and was replaced by a false pride on the part of patron and dependant alike. The patron loves the display of his retinue: the client boasts that he has as many

patrons as he can get[1]. To get food or a present no trouble was spared; slaves were bribed[2]; adulation was freely lavished; terms of obsequious flattery like 'dominus' and 'rex' were employed towards the patron: the highest aim of the client was to get some post as bailiff or a bit of land[3].

However stingily the patron might provide for his clients, it could not be but that he should find the system a heavy burden and expense, and the rich man found it cheaper to distribute a small sum to his clients instead of the 'cena.' The clients now went from patron to patron and begged this small sum from each in turn. This dole was called 'sportula.' The word 'sportula,' strictly speaking, is used of sacrificial occasions, on which the 'exta' were appropriated to the gods: the 'viscera' or flesh being distributed among the guests who carried or sent their portion home in a basket called 'sportula.' Sometimes, however, they consumed their portions at a common meal called 'visceratio,' in which case bread, wine, etc. had to be added to the portion received. The same proceedings took place at 'epula publica,' public meals given by a magistrate, or by the Emperor, or indeed by a private individual, to large masses of the people. At these entertainments guests were either provided with a regular meal (cena recta), or each guest received his own portion in a basket provided for the purpose. Thus Caesar entertained the entire male population of Rome in the year 46 B. C. at twenty-two thousand 'triclinia.' The entertainer, on such occasions, contracted with a caterer ('manceps'), paying him for each place, or for each 'sportula,' a specified sum. The proceeding was then simplified by paying the sum direct to the guest. In the case of 'cenae rectae' the entertainer was supposed to provide handsome 'lecti' and 'vasa,' and was thought stingy if he failed to do so; so that Nero effected a public economy when he abolished entirely 'cenae rectae,' and maintained the 'sportulae' alone.

The clients who had attended their patron all day received either their portion of food to take home with them, or a sum of money (one hundred quadrantes, Juv. i. 120). Martial expressly tells us that he gave up his patron in disgust, finding

[1] Mart. xii. 16 'sexcentos.' [2] Juv. ii. 188. [3] Juv. ix. 139.

that he only got from him one hundred and twenty sesterces (26*s.*) a year.

Family Life.—While public morality was thus undermined by the wholesale sapping of independence of character, a similar process of deterioration was proceeding in the case of family life. The good old Roman virtue of chastity was falling daily more into disrepute. The Roman wife and Roman maiden had been expected to vie with the vestal virgins in purity of life. But since the Civil Wars marriage was looked upon as a mere temporary contract to be set aside when its ties became burdensome to either party. Contemporary writers speak of divorces without surprise as of quite ordinary events. This heedlessness of the sanctity of marriage is remarked on with indignation by Juvenal (vi. 224). At the same time a disinclination for marriage manifested itself all over Italy; the result of which was the decrease of genuine Italians throughout the country, and their replacement by hordes of foreigners, mongrels, slaves, and freedmen. To remedy this evil Augustus introduced his laws to render marriage compulsory, the so called Iuliae Rogationes; viz. the lex Iulia sumptuaria, the lex Iulia de adulteriis et de pudicitia, the lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus, and finally, the lex Papia Poppaea (A. D. 9), which imposed certain disabilities upon unmarried persons of both sexes of marriageable age. The result of Augustus' legislation was unfortunately, on the whole, unsatisfactory. Men, finding that they had better make the best of a bad case, reconciled themselves to marriage, but did their best to gild the bitter pill by courting heiresses under wills, while women imposed on themselves the distasteful fetters of matrimony, in order to secure an easier field for their evil proclivities. The laws which Augustus conscientiously passed against vice merely seem to have increased it, and it is difficult to portray in words the depth of degradation to which morality had sunk in Rome by the time of the beginning of the Empire. The most potent element in the regeneration of Rome in this dark time was the emigration thither of good families from its colonies, municipia, and provinces[1]; and it is instructive to find a provincial like Juvenal pouring out the vials of his indignation against the vices of the Capital.

[1] Tac. iii. 54.

ON ROMAN SATURA.

THE word Satura has been traced to different origins. The commonly accepted account of it is that given by the grammarian Diomedes, viz. that it is connected with the 'lanx satura,' a dish filled with numerous and diverse firstfruits of the earth and offered to the gods. As alternative possible derivations he gives a kind of sausage or forced meat ('genus quoddam farciminis') which he alleges that Varro called 'satura.' Others, he says, derived it from 'lex satura:' a bill passed as we should say 'in globo,' the different clauses not being considered one by one but altogether. These three derivations, it will be observed, all assume that the meaning of 'a medley' is prominent in the word as used by Varro and as understood by Diomedes. Professor Nettleship compares with the form of the word that of feminine substantives formed from adjectives, such as 'noxia,' a fault, 'dira,' a curse, and others. It seems not improbable that the original form of the expression may have been 'fabula satura,' just as the original form of the name of many of Plautus' plays was 'fabula' with an adjective attached, such as Mostellaria, Asinaria, etc., sc. fabula.

Livy, in the passage quoted below, ascribes the origin of dramatic performances at Rome to players who were summoned thither from Etruria and danced to the music of the 'tibicen.' The young men of Rome adopted the example of the imported artists, and added an irregular dialogue to the dance. Their performance is said by Livy to have consisted of 'impletae modis[1] saturae,' and he contrasts this with the irregular dialogue in verse, resembling but not identical with the Fescennine verse which preceded it. 'Satura,' then, seems to be the name which Livy gives to the dialogue when set to music and regular rhythm, after the introduction of the new art by the histriones.

Livius Andronicus next, we are told, gave up Saturae and gave a connected play with a regular plot[2].

[1] Cf. the words of Livy vii. 2. 4, *ad fin.* 'Livius, qui ab saturis ausus est primus argumento fabulam serere.'

[2] Cf. Professor Nettleship's 'The Roman Satura.'

It appears then that Livius Andronicus out of the existing Satura evolved a play. The new element added by him seems to have been a plot (argumentum). He turned a rough uncultivated medley into a consistent play. The 'saturae modis impletae' probably consisted of dialogues, which were always an ingredient in Roman satire, and indeed have continued at all times to form an essential characteristic of the literature popular among the Romans, from the time of Ennius down to that of Parini and Belli[1].

The name Satura was next adopted by Ennius and Pacuvius as a name for their literary miscellanies, inwhich the element of dialogue was probably an ingredient.

Lucilius maintained the character of the Satire as a 'miscellany,' both in the diverse form of the subjects with which he dealt, and in the mixture of metres which he employed. But he it was who first employed the word in something resembling the modern sense. It was Lucilius who first employed satire as the natural corrector of the vices of the public men who from his time to the end of the Republic were becoming more and more corrupt[2]. He boldly follows the Greek writers of the Old Comedy and pillories vice and incapacity whenever he sees it. Avarice, sensuality, discontent, flattery, cringing, incapacity, are depicted by Lucilius as the vices of the Rome of his day, and denounced in the most glowing language. But Lucilius in giving to Satura a more definite meaning, narrowed at the same time its scope and its form. He confined its form mainly to the Hexameter, and led his successors to regard invective as an integral part of its contents. It has been pointed out[3] that Horace in his well-known criticism of Lucilius (Sat. i. 4 and i. 10), objects to Lucilius as 'hanging entirely to the Old Comedy,' i. e. as conceiving the scope of his work to consist mainly in chastising vice generally and specially in prominent politicians.

Marcus Terentius Varro of Reate (116–{27), amongst numerous other branches of literature, devoted himself to Satura, and conceived of it as in its primitive sense instead of that given it by

[1] See Schuchardt, 'G. G. Belli und die römische Satire,' p. 154 sq.

[2] Nettleship, 'The Roman Satura,' p. 12.

[3] See Hor. Serm. ii. 1. 62–70, and Juv. Sat. i. 165 quoted by Palmer in his Preface to Horace's Satires.

Lucilius. He took as his model the writings of Menippus of Gadara in Syria (circ. 475). Menippus was a man of cynical wit, which he employed unsparingly to emphasize the small results attained by philosophers and their systems. Varro fell in with this spirit[1]; for he was a genuine Roman of the old stamp who deemed common-sense and mother wit more capable of solving the difficult problems of life than all the philosophies. He boldly mingled prose and verse, but his influence did not prevail to oust the Hexameter, which had been settled as the future vehicle for Satire by Lucilius for the time to come.

Horace felt himself called upon to write Satires, and expressly states that he chose Lucilius as a model, Serm. ii. 1. 34[2]. But, unlike Lucilius, Horace's satire ceases to be political: ceases in a great degree from being personal: it becomes social. The lover of good living and good society and rich men and popularity was not likely to imperil the attainment of all that he held dear by attacking any one personally higher in rank than a music master like Hermogenes or an unpopular upstart like Tillius[3]. But it is interesting to note that Horace in his Satires retains much of the old-fashioned medley. He criticises the society and views current in the society of his day, sometimes directly, sometimes in the form of a dialogue, sometimes in the form of a travesty of a well-known play. In some cases he actually copies Lucilius, as in Satire V, where he describes a journey to Brundisium as Lucilius described a journey from Rome to Capua.

In the Second Book he seems to have fairly made up his mind as to the form and scope of the Satura in his hands; he refrains from declamation, and each piece is 'either a scene or a conversation.'

Petronius Arbiter, in the Indian summer of Roman literature, revived the older form of the Satura, mingling metre with metre,

[1] See Mommsen, Hist. Rome, vol. 4, part ii. p. 593.

[2] The following are the titles of some of his Satires, which will serve to show the variety of the themes dealt with by Varro: 'Columnae Herculis,' *περὶ δόξης* (cf. Juvenal's Sat. x ad init., for a souvenir of this?); *Εὕρεν ἡ Λοπὰς τὸ Πῶμα, περὶ Γεγαμηκότων; Ἄμμον μετρεῖς (περὶ φιλαργυρίας)*; 'Bimarcus' (a dialogue between Varro and Manius), *Ἔχω σε (περὶ τύχης)*, etc.

[3] Palmer, Preface to Horace's Satires, p. xiv.

prose with verse, humorous with touching scenes, general reflections with dialogue.

In the hands of Juvenal the Satire keeps the note of invective stamped upon it by ~~Lucretius~~ Lucilius; but, as pointed out in the Preface, it must never be forgotten that Juvenal's pieces are written with a view to recitation, and therefore we can hardly expect them to retain such of the elements of Satura as were not suited to arouse and stimulate an audience. Still even in Juvenal we find that the third and ninth Satires are thrown into the form of a dialogue; while, in other cases, as in Satire I, isolated scenes from Roman contemporary life are introduced in rapid, and in some cases ill-contrived, succession. The invective is ever present; and Juvenal tells us that though he would fain have followed Lucilius and the writers of the Old Comedy in satirising the sinners in high places of the day, yet not daring this he must fain be content with trying how far he may go in branding with infamy those whose tombs lined the highways of the Capital, whose life he found so intolerable and so unnatural.

It will appear then that the Satura is really and truly, as Quintilian has asserted[1], a Roman production; that the rude dramatic medley which was originally denoted by the word 'Satura' was ousted by the introduction of plays from the Greek containing a regular plot: that the word 'Satura' was then adopted by literary men like Ennius and Varro to denote a medley, in which form they liked to cast their compositions; and that the successive Satirists of Rome retained something of the essence of the primitive Satura in the dialogue on the one hand and the absence of plot on the other.

[1] X. 1. 93 'Satira quidem tota nostra est.'

D. IUNII IUVENALIS

SATURARUM

LIBER PRIMUS.

I.

SEMPER ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
hic elegos? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus, aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?
nota magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi lucus
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani. quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae:
exspectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum
dormiret; stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.
cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,

per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
Cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Mevia Tuscum
figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma,
patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat,
cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus, Tyrias umero revocante lacernas,
ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,
nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae,
difficile est saturam non scribere. nam quis iniquae
tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis
plena ipso, post hunc magni delator amici
et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino?
accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis et sic
palleat, ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
aut Lugudunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.
quid referam quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira,
cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator
pupilli prostantis, et hic damnatus inani
iudicio (quid enim salvis infamia nummis?)
exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
iratis, at tu victrix provincia ploras?
haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
haec ego non agitem? sed quid magis? Heracleas
aut Diomedeas aut mugitum labyrinthi
et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem,
cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis,
qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni
maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer Automedon; nam lora tenebat
ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae?

nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
quadruvio, cum iam sexta cervice feratur
hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra
et multum referens de Maecenate supino
signator, falso qui se lautum atque beatum
exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerit uda?
occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam,
instituitque rudes melior Lucusta propinquas
per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.
aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
si vis esse aliquid. probitas laudatur et alget.
criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas
argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.
quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?
si natura negat, facit indignatio versum
qualemcunque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.

Ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor
navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit,
paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa,
quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus nostri farrago libelli est.
et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
maior avaritiae patuit sinus? alea quando
hos animos? neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca.
proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
armigero! simplexne furor sestertia centum
perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?
quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem
secreto cenavit avus? nunc sportula primo
limine parva sedet turbae rapienda togatae:
ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat, ne
suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas.

agnitus accipies. iubet a praecone vocari
ipsos Troiugenas (nam vexant limen et ipsi
nobiscum :) 'da praetori, da deinde tribuno.'
sed libertinus prior est. 'prior,' inquit, 'ego adsum.
cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quinque tabernae
quadringenta parant. quid confert purpura maior
optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis?' exspectent ergo tribuni,
vincant divitiae, sacro ne cedat honori,
nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis,
quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
maiestas, etsi funesta pecunia templo
nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
ut colitur Pax atque Fides Victoria Virtus
quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.
sed cum summus honor finito computet anno,
sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
quid facient comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est
et panis fumusque domi? densissima centum
quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
languida vel praegnas et circumducitur uxor.
hic petit absenti nota iam callidus arte,
ostendens vacuam et clausam pro coniuge sellam.
'Galla mea est,' inquit, 'citius dimitte. moraris?
profer Galla caput! noli vexare, quiescet.'

Ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum:
sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
nescio quis titulos Aegyptius atque Arabarches.
vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae
spes homini: caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.

optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit
rex horum, vacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit.
nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus et tam
antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
nullus iam parasitus erit. sed quis ferat istas
luxuriae sordes? quanta est gula, quae sibi totos
ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum!
poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus,
et nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.

Nil erit ulterius, quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas; eadem facient cupientque minores,
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit; utere velis,
totos pande sinus! dices hic forsitan: 'unde
ingenium par materiae? unde illa priorum
scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet
simplicitas cuius non audeo dicere nomen?
"quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non?"
pone Tigellinum, taeda lucebis in illa,
qua stantes ardent, qui fixo pectore fumant,
et latum media sulcum deducit harena.'
qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos?
'cum veniet contra, digito compesce labellum.
accusator erit qui verbum dixerit "hic est."
securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem
committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles
aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus:
ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens
infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa.
inde irae et lacrimae. tecum prius ergo voluta
haec animo ante tubas. galeatum sero duelli

paenitet.' experiar, quid concedatur in illos,
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

III.

QUAMVIS digressu veteris confusus amici,
laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
secessus. ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae.
nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae
urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?
sed dum tota domus reda componitur una,
substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.
hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,
nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur
Iudaeis, quorum cophinus faenumque supellex—
omnis enim populo mercedem pendere iussa est
arbor, et eiectis mendicat silva Camenis—
in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas
dissimiles veris. quanto praesentius esset
numen aquae, viridi si margine cluderet undas
herba nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum!
hic tunc Umbricius 'quando artibus,' inquit, 'honestis
nullus in urbe locus, nulla emolumenta laborum,
res hodie minor est, here quam fuit, atque eadem cras
deteret exiguis aliquid, proponimus illuc
ire, fatigatas ubi Daedalus exuit alas,
dum nova canities, dum prima et recta senectus,
dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, et pedibus me
porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo.
cedamus patria. vivant Artorius istic

et Catulus, maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,
quis facile est aedem conducere flumina portus,
siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver,
et praebere caput domina venale sub hasta.
quondam hi cornicines et muuicipalis harenae
perpetui comites notaeque per oppida buccae
munera nunc edunt, et verso pollice vulgus
quem iubet occidunt populariter, inde reversi
conducunt foricas, et cur non omnia? cum sint,
quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
extollit, quotiens voluit Fortuna iocari.
quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio, librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere, motus
astrorum ignoro, funus promittere patris
nec volo nec possum, ranarum viscera numquam
inspexi, ferre ad nuptam quae mittit adulter,
quae mandat, norunt alii, me nemo ministro
fur erit, atque ideo nulli comes exeo, tamquam
mancus et exstincta corpus non utile dextra.
quis nunc diligitur, nisi conscius, et cui fervens
aestuat occultis animus semperque tacendis?
nil tibi se debere putat, nil conferet umquam,
participem qui te secreti fecit honesti;
carus erit Verri, qui Verrem tempore quo vult
accusare potest. tanti tibi non sit opaci
omnis harena Tagi quodque in mare volvitur aurum,
ut somno careas ponendaque praemia sumas
tristis et a magno semper timearis amico.

Quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris
et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,
nec pudor obstabit. non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem; quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?
iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes,
et linguam et mores et cum tibicine chordas
obliquas nec non gentilia tympana secum

vexit et ad circum iussas prostare puellas:
rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
et ceromatico fert niceteria collo!
hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
hic Andro, ille Samo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis,
Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem,
viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
promptus et Isaeo torrentior. ede, quid illum
esse putes? quem vis hominem secum attulit ad nos:
grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes
augur schoenobates medicus magus, omnia novit
Graeculus esuriens: in caelum, miseris, ibit.
in summa, non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax,
qui sumpsit pinnas, mediis sed natus Athenis.
horum ego non fugiam conchylia? me prior ille
signabit fultusque toro meliore recumbet,
advectus Romam quo pruna et cottona vento?
usque adeo nihil est, quod nostra infantia caelum
hausit Aventini baca nutrita Sabina?
quid quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,
miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
ille sonat, quo mordetur gallina marito?
haec eadem licet et nobis laudare; sed illis
creditur. an melior, cum Thaida sustinet aut cum
uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo
cultam palliolo? mulier nempe ipsa videtur.
nec tamen Antiochus, nec erit mirabilis illic
aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo:
natio comoeda est. rides, maiore cachinno
concutitur; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici,
nec dolet; igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,

accipit endromidem; si dixeris "aestuo," sudat.
[non sumus ergo pares: melior, qui semper et omni]
nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum
a facie, iactare manus, laudare paratus,
si trulla inverso crepitum dedit aurea fundo.
[scire volunt secreta domus atque inde timeri.]
et quoniam coepit Graecorum mentio, transi
gymnasia atque audi facinus maioris abollae.
stoicus occidit Baream delator, amicum
discipulumque senex, ripa nutritus in illa,
ad quam Gorgonei delapsa est pinna caballi.
non est Romano cuiquam locus hic, ubi regnat
Protogenes aliquis vel Diphilus aut Hermarchus,
qui gentis vitio numquam partitur amicum,
solus habet; nam cum facilem stillavit in aurem
exiguum de naturae patriaeque veneno,
limine summoveor, perierunt tempora longi
servitii; nusquam minor est iactura clientis.

Quod porro officium, ne nobis blandiar, aut quod
pauperis hic meritum, si curet nocte togatus
currere, cum praetor lictorem impellat et ire
praecipitem iubeat, dudum vigilantibus orbis,
ne prior Albinam et Modiam collega salutet?
divitis hic servo cludit latus ingenuorum
filius; alter enim quantum in legione tribuni
accipiunt donat Calvinae vel Catienae.
da testem Romae tam sanctum, quam fuit hospes
numinis Idaei, procedat vel Numa vel qui
servavit trepidam flagranti ex aede Minervam:
protinus ad censum, de moribus ultima fiet
quaestio "quot pascit servos? quot possidet agri
iugera? quam multa magnaque paropside cenat?"
quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,
tantum habet et fidei. iures licet et Samothracum
et nostrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper

creditur atque deos, dis ignoscentibus ipsis.
quid quod materiam praebet causasque iocorum
omnibus hic idem, si foeda et scissa lacerna,
si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
pelle patet, vel si consuto vulnere crassum
atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix?
nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
quam quod ridiculos homines facit. "exeat," inquit,
"si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
cuius res legi non sufficit, et sedeant hic
lenonum pueri quocumque e fornice nati,
hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter
pinnirapi cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistae;
sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni."
quis gener hic placuit censu minor atque puellae
sarcinulis impar? quis pauper scribitur heres?
quando in consilio est aedilibus? agmine facto
debuerant olim tenues migrasse Quirites.
haut facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus opstat
res angusta domi, sed Romae durior illis
conatus, magno hospitium miserabile, magno
servorum ventres et frugi cenula magno.
fictilibus cenare pudet, quod turpe negabis
translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam
contentusque illic veneto duroque cucullo.
pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. ipsa dierum
festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
maiestas tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
exodium, cum personae pallentis hiatum
in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
aequales habitus illic similesque videbis
orchestram et populum, clari velamen honoris
sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.
hic ultra vires habitus nitor, hic aliquid plus

quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.
commune id vitium est, hic vivimus ambitiosa
paupertate omnes. quid te moror? omnia Romae
cum pretio. quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes,
ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello?
ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati,
plena domus libis venalibus. accipe et istud
fermentum tibi habe: praestare tributa clientes
cogimur et cultis augere peculia servis.
Quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam,
aut positis nemorosa inter iuga Volsiniis, aut
simplicibus Gabiis, aut proni Tiburis arce?
nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
magna parte sui: nam sic labentibus obstat
vilicus et, veteris rimae cum texit hiatum,
securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.
vivendum est illic, ubi nulla incendia, nulli
nocte metus. iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert
Ucalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant,
tu nescis. nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
ultimus ardebit, quem tegula sola tuetur
a pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex,
ornamentum abaci, nec non et parvulus infra
cantharus et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiron,
iamque vetus Graecos servabat cista libellos,
et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat? et tamen illud
perdidit infelix totum nihil; ultimus autem
aerumnae cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem
nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.
si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor
tunc gemimus casus urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
ardet adhuc, et iam accurrit qui marmora donet,

conferat impensas: hic nuda et candida signa,
hic aliquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti,
phaecasiatorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,
hic modium argenti. meliora ac plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus et merito iam
suspectus, tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.
si potes avelli circensibus, optima Sorae
aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.
hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
in tenuis plantas facili defunditur haustu.
vive bidentis amans et culti vilicus horti,
unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu,
unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.

Plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando; sed ipsum
languorem peperit cibus inperfectus et haerens
ardenti stomacho, nam quae meritoria somnum
admittunt? magnis opibus dormitur in urbe,
inde caput morbi. redarum transitus arto
vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae
eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.

Si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
dives et ingenti curret super ora liburna,
atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus,
namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra,
ante tamen veniet. nobis properantibus obstat
unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
qui sequitur, ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam;
pinguia crura luto; planta mox undique magna
calcor et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.
nonne vides, quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina.

Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
impositas capiti, quas recto vertice portat
servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
scinduntur tunicae sartae modo, longa coruscat
serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra vehunt, nutant alte populoque minantur.
nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
quid superest de corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
invenit? obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
more animae. domus interea secura patellas
iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
striglibus et pleno componit lintea guto.
haec inter pueros varie properantur, at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea, nec sperat cenosi gurgitis alnum
infelix, nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

Respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis,
quod spatium tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum
testa ferit, quotiens rimosa et curta fenestris
vasa cadant, quanto percussum pondere signent
et laedant silicem. possis ignavus haberi
et subiti casus inprovidus, ad cenam si
intestatus eas: adeo tot fata, quot illa
nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae.
ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.
ebrius ac petulans, qui nullum forte cecidit,
dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus.
[ergo non aliter poterit dormire? quibusdam]
somnum rixa facit. sed quamvis improbus annis
atque mero fervens cavet hunc, quem coccina laena
vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas;

me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
candelae, cuius dispenso et tempero filum,
contemnit. miserae cognosce prooemia rixae
si rixa est, ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
stat contra starique iubet. parere necesse est,
nam quid agas, cum te furiosus cogat et idem
fortior? "unde venis?" exclamat; "cuius aceto,
cuius conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum
sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit?
nil mihi respondes? aut dic, aut accipe calcem!
ede, ubi consistas! in qua te quaero proseucha?"
dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
tantumdem est, feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde
irati faciunt; libertas pauperis haec est:
pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat,
ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.
nec tamen haec tantum metuas, nam qui spoliet te
non derit, clausis domibus postquam omnis ubique
fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae.
interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem.
armato quotiens tutae custode tenentur
et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus,
sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt.
qua fornace graves, qua non incude, catenae?
maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas, ne
vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.
His alias poteram et pluris subnectere causas,
sed iumenta vocant, et sol inclinat, eundum est.
nam mihi commota iamdudum mulio virga
annuit.—ergo vale nostri memor, et quotiens te
Roma tuo refici properantem reddet Aquino,
me quoque ad Helvinam Cererem vestramque Dianam

converte a Cumis: saturarum ego, ni pudet illas,
auditor gelidos veniam caligatus in agros.'

IV.

Ecce iterum Crispinus, et est mihi saepe vocandus
ad partes, monstrum nulla virtute redemptum
a vitiis, aegrae solaque libidine fortes
deliciae: viduas tantum spernatur adulter.
quid refert igitur, quantis iumenta fatiget
porticibus, quanta nemorum vectetur in umbra,
iugera quot vicina foro, quas emerit aedes?
[nemo malus felix, minime corruptor et idem]
incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat
sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos?
sed nunc de factis levioribus—et tamen alter
si fecisset idem, caderet sub iudice morum,
nam quod turpe bonis, Titio Seioque, decebat
Crispinum—quid agas, cum dira et foedior omni
crimine persona est? mullum sex milibus emit,
aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,
ut perhibent qui de magnis maiora loquuntur.
consilium laudo artificis, si munere tanto
praecipuam in tabulis ceram senis abstulit orbi;
est ratio ulterior, magnae si misit amicae,
quae vehitur cluso latis specularibus antro.
nil tale exspectes, emit sibi. multa videmus,
quae miser et frugi non fecit Apicius. hoc tu,
succinctus patria quondam, Crispine, papyro,
hoc pretio squamam? potuit fortasse minoris
piscator quam piscis emi; provincia tanti
vendit agros, sed maiores Apulia vendit.
quales tunc epulas ipsum gluttisse putamus
induperatorem, cum tot sestertia partem

exiguam et modicae sumptam de margine cenae
purpureus magni ructarit scurra Palati,
iam princeps equitum, magna qui voce solebat
vendere municipes fracta de merce siluros?
incipe, Calliope! licet et considere: non est
cantandum, res vera agitur, narrate, puellae
Pierides! prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas.

Cum iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
implevitque sinus; nec enim minor haeserat illis,
quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem
solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti
desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
destinat hoc monstrum cumbae linique magister
pontifici summo. quis enim proponere talem
aut emere auderet, cum plena et litora multo
delatore forent? dispersi protinus algae
inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,
non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem
depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde
elapsum, veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto,
res fisci est, ubicumque natat: donabitur ergo,
ne pereat. iam letifero cedente pruinis
autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris,
stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem
servabat: tamen hic properat, velut urgueat auster.
utque lacus suberant, ubi quamquam diruta servat
ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper;
ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae;
exclusi spectant admissa obsonia patres.

itur ad Atriden. tum Picens 'accipe,' dixit,
'privatis maiora focis, genialis agatur
iste dies, propera stomachum laxare saginae,
et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum;
ipse capi voluit.' quid apertius? et tamen illi
surgebant cristae. nihil est quod credere de se
non possit, cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.
sed derat pisci patinae mensura. vocantur
ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat
pallor amicitiae. primus, clamante Liburno
'currite, iam sedit!' rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi,
[anne aliud tunc praefecti? quorum optimus atque]
interpres legum sanctissimus, omnia quamquam
temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi
iustitia. venit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite
ingenium. maria ac terras populosque regenti
quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
saevitiam damnare et honestum adferre liceret
consilium? sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?
ille igitur numquam direxit bracchia contra
torrentem, nec civis erat, qui libera posset
verba animi proferre et vitam inpendere vero.
sic multas hiemes atque octogensima vidit
solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
cum iuvene indigno, quem mors tam saeva maneret
et domini gladiis tam festinata. sed olim
prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus,
unde fit ut malim fraterculus esse gigantis.
profuit ergo nihil misero, quod comminus ursos

figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena
venator. quis enim iam non intellegat artes
patricias? quis priscum illud miratur acumen,
Brute, tuum? facile est barbato inponere regi.
nec melior vultu, quamvis ignobilis, ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae,
et tamen improbior saturam scribente cinaedo.
Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus,
et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,
quantum vix redolent duo funera; saevior illo
Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,
et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus, marmorea meditatus proelia villa,
et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
caecus adulator dirusque a ponte satelles,
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
blandaque devexae iactaret basia redae.
nemo magis rhombum stupuit: nam plurima dixit
in laevum conversus; at illi dextrâ iacebat
belua. sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.
non cedit Veiento, set ut fanaticus oestro
percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
omen habes,' inquit, 'magni clarique triumphi:
regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
excidet Arviragus: peregrina est belua, cernis
erectas in terga sudes?' hoc defuit unum
Fabricio, patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
"quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?" 'absit ab illo
dedecus hoc,' Montanus ait. 'testa alta paretur,
quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus;
argillam atque rotam citius properate! sed ex hoc

tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur.'
vicit digna viro sententia: noverat ille
luxuriam inperii veterem noctesque Neronis
iam medias aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
arderet. nulli maior fuit usus edendi
tempestate mea: Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
ostrea, callebat primo depraendere morsu;
et semel aspecti litus dicebat echini.
surgitur, et misso proceres exire iubentur
consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos,
tamquam de Cattis aliquid torvisque Sycambris
dicturus, tamquam ex diversis partibus orbis
anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna.
Atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi
inlustresque animas impune et vindice nullo!
sed periit, postquam Cerdonibus esse timendus
coeperat: hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

V.

Si te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra:
si potes illa pati, quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset,
quamvis iurato metuam tibi credere testi.
ventre nihil novi frugalius; hoc tamen ipsum
defecisse puta, quod inani sufficit alvo:
nulla crepido vacat, nusquam pons et tegetis pars
dimidia brevior? tantine iniuria cenae?
tam ieiuna fames? cum possit honestius illic
et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini.

Primo fige loco, quod tu discumbere iussus
mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
fructus amicitiae magnae cibus; inputat hunc rex
et quamvis rarum tamen inputat. ergo duos post
si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
tertia ne vacuo cessaret calcita lecto:
'una simus' ait. votorum summa. quid ultra
quaeris? habet Trebius, propter quod rumpere somnum
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem
sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore, quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.
qualis cena tamen? vinum, quod sucida noli
lana pati: de conviva Corybanta videbis.
iurgia proludunt; sed mox et pocula torques
saucius et rubra deterges vulnera mappa,
inter vos quotiens libertorumque cohortem
pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagona.
ipse capillato diffusum consule potat
calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam,
cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico;
cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae,
quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus. ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullo
Virro tenet phialas: tibi non committitur aurum,
vel si quando datur, custos adfixus ibidem,
qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos.
da veniam: praeclara illi laudatur iaspis.
nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae:
tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem

siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor ac iam
quassatum et rupto poscentem sulpura vitro.
si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis:
[non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar?]
vos aliam potatis aquam. tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri
et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,
clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae:
flos Asiae ante ipsum pretio maiore paratus,
quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
frivola. quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
respice, cum sities. nescit tot milibus emptus
pauperibus miscere puer: sed forma, sed aetas
digna supercilio. quando ad te pervenit ille?
quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?
quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti,
quodque aliquid poscas, et quod se stante recumbas.
[maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.]
ecce alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
vix fractum, solidae iam mucida frusta farinae
quae genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum:
sed tener et niveus mollique siligine factus
servatur domino. dextram cohibere memento,
salva sit artoptae reverentia. finge tamen te
inprobulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat:
'vis tu consuetis audax conviva canistris
impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?'
"scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relicta
coniuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo!"
aspice, quam longo distinguat pectore lancem,
quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique saepta

asparagis qua despiciat convivia cauda,
dum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri:
sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
ponitur exigua feralis cena patella.
ipse Venafrano piscem perfundit, at hic qui
pallidus affertur misero tibi caulis olebit
lanternam: illud enim vestris datur alveolis, quod
canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,
[quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus atris.]
mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit
retibus assiduis penitus scrutante macello
proxima, nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.
instruit ergo focum provincia, sumitur illinc
quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.
Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit
gurgite de Siculo; nam dum se continet Auster,
dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pinnas,
contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim.
vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus et ipse
vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.
Ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
'nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
largiri; namque et titulis et fascibus olim
maior habebatur donandi gloria: solum
poscimus, ut cenes civiliter; hoc face et esto,
esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis.'
Anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par
altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
fumat aper; post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver

tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua cenas
maiores. 'tibi habe frumentum,' Alledius inquit,
'o Libye, disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas.'
structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
omnia; nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.
duceris planta, velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris umquam
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina. quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitve tuis contacta labellis
pocula? quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
perditus, ut dicat regi 'bibe?' plurima sunt, quae
non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.
quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus
ex nihilo, quantus fieres Virronis amicus!
'da Trebio! pone ad Trebium! vis frater ab ipsis
ilibus?' o nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
vos estis fratres. dominus tamen et domini rex
si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvolus aula
luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo.
[iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.]
set tua nunc Mygale pariat licet et pueros tres
in gremium patris fundat simul, ipse loquaci
gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit
adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans.
vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
boletus domino, set quales Claudius edit
ante illum uxoris, post quem nil amplius edit.
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,

credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris;
tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit
qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.
forsitan impensae Virronem parcere credas;
hoc agit, ut doleas; nam quae comoedia, mimus
quis melior plorante gula? ergo omnia fiunt,
si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.
tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris:
captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae,
nec male coniectat: quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?
spes bene cenandi vos decipit, 'ecce dabit iam
semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri,
ad nos iam veniet minor altilis,' inde parato
intactoque omnes et stricto pane iacetis.
ille sapit, qui te sic utitur. omnia ferre
si potes, et debes: pulsandum vertice raso
praebebis quandoque caput, nec dura timebis
flagra pati his epulis et tali dignus amico.

D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATURARUM

LIBER TERTIUS.

* * * *

VII.

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum,
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum iam celebres notique poetae

balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
temptarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent
praecones fieri, cum desertis Aganippes
vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio.
nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae
et vendas potius, commissa quod auctio vendit
stantibus, oenophorum tripodes armaria cistas,
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.
hoc satius, quam si dicas sub iudice 'vidi,'
quod non vidisti; faciant equites Asiani
[Quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni,]
altera quos nudo traducit Gallia talo.
nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laborem
cogetur posthac, nectit quicumque canoris
eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
hoc agite, o iuvenes! circumspicit et stimulat vos
materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.
siqua aliunde putas rerum exspectanda tuarum
praesidia atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
implentur, lignorum aliquid posce ocius et quae
componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito;
aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,
qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.
spes nulla ulterior: didicit iam dives avarus
tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
ut pueri Iunonis avem. sed defluit aetas
et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.

Accipe nunc artes. ne quid tibi conferat iste,
quem colis et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta,
ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero

propter mille annos, et si dulcedine famae
succensus recites, maculosas commodat aedes:
haec longe ferrata domus servire iubetur,
in qua sollicitas imitatur ianua portas.
scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentis
ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces;
nemo dabit regum quanti subsellia constant
et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo
quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.
nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos
ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosum
[consuetudo mali; tenet insanabile multos]
scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit.
sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena,
qui nil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum,
anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
impatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
fontibus Aonidum. neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumque potest contingere maesta
paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
corpus eget. satur est, cum dicit Horatius 'euhoe!'
qui locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo
vexant et dominis Cirrae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum
aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinys.
nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile desset
hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri,
surda nihil gemeret grave bucina. poscimus ut sit
non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa cothurno,
cuius et alveolos et laenam pignerat Atreus?

non habet infelix Numitor quod mittat amico,
Quintillae quod donet habet, nec defuit illi
unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
iam domitum. constat leviori belua sumptu
nimirum, et capiunt plus intestina poetae.
contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis
marmoreis; at Serrano tenuique Saleio
gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem
promisitque diem: tanta dulcedine captos
adficit ille animos, tantaque libidine volgi
auditur; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agaven.
ille et militiae multis largitus honorem
semenstri digitos vatum circumligat auro.
quod non dant proceres, dabit histrio. tu Camerinos
et Baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
haut tamen invideas vati, quem pulpita pascunt.
quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
aut Fabius, quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?
tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
pallere et vinum toto nescire Decembri.

Vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum
scriptores? perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus.
nullo quippe modo millensima pagina surgit
omnibus et crescit multa damnosa papyro;
sic ingens rerum numerus iubet atque operum lex.
quae tamen inde seges, terrae quis fructus apertae?
quis dabit historico, quantum daret acta legenti?

'Sed genus ignavum, quod lecto gaudet et umbra.'
dic igitur, quid causidicis civilia praestent
officia et magno comites in fasce libelli?
ipsi magna sonant, sed tum cum creditor audit

praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo,
qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
tunc immensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
conspuiturque sinus: veram depraendere messem
si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
parte alia solum russati pone Lacernae.
consedere duces, surgis tu pallidus Aiax,
dicturus dubia pro libertate bubulco
iudice. rumpe miser tensum iecur, ut tibi lasso
figantur virides, scalarum gloria, palmae.
quod vocis pretium? siccus petasunculus et vas
pelamydum, aut veteres, Maurorum epimenia, bulbi,
aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagonae.
si quater egisti, si contigit aureus unus,
inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum.
Aemilio dabitur quantum licet, et melius nos
egimus. huius enim stat currus aeneus, alti
quadriiuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
eminus et statua meditatur proelia lusca.
sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit: exitus hic est.
Tongilii, magno cum rhinocerote lavari
qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba
perque forum iuvenes longo premit assere Medos,
empturus pueros argentum murrina villas;
spondet enim Tyrio stlattaria purpura filo.
et tamen est illis hoc utile, purpura vendit
causidicum, vendunt amethystina, convenit illis
et strepitu et facie maioris vivere census.
[sed finem inpensae non servat prodiga Roma.]
fidimus eloquio? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit anulus ingens.
respicit haec primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
ante pedes. ideo conducta Paulus agebat

sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Gallus agebat,
quam Basilus. rara in tenui facundia panno.
quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem?
quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat? accipiat te
Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguae.
Declamare doces? o ferrea pectora Vetti,
cui perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos!
nam quaecumque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans
perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem;
occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa
quaestio, quae veniant diversae forte sagittae,
nosse velint omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.
"mercedem appellas? quid enim scio?" "culpa docentis
scilicet arguitur, quod laevae parte mamillae
nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sexta
quaque die miserum dirus caput Annibal implet;
quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat urbem
a Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
quantum vis stipulare, et protinus accipe, quod do,
ut totiens illum pater audiat." haec alii sex
vel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae,
et veras agitant lites raptore relicto;
fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
et quae iam veteres sanant mortaria caecos.
ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem, si nostra movebunt
consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
summula ne pereat, qua vilis tessera venit
frumenti: quippe haec merces lautissima. tempta,
Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Polio quanti
lautorum pueros, artem scindes Theodori.
balnea sescentis et pluris porticus, in qua

gestetur dominus, quotiens pluit—anne serenum
exspectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti?
[hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae—]
parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
surgat et algentem rapiat cenatio solem.
quanticumque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
conponat, veniet qui pulmentaria condit.
hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
ut multum, duo sufficient: res nulla minoris
constabit patri, quam filius. 'unde igitur tot
'Quintilianus habet saltus?' exempla novorum
fatorum transi. felix et pulcher et acer,
felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus
adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae;
felix orator quoque maximus et iaculator
et, si perfrixit, cantat bene. distat enim, quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fies de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam
sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphum.
felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarior albo.
paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus atque Secundi
Carrinatis: et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae,
nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
di, maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
spirantisque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
esse loco! metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles
cantabat patriis in montibus et cui non tunc
eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri;
sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque iuventus,

Rufum, quem totiens Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.
Quis gremio Celadi doctique Palaemonis adfert
quantum grammaticus meruit labor? et tamen ex hoc
quodcumque est (minus est autem quam rhetoris aera)
discipuli custos praemordet acoenonoëtus,
et qui dispensat, franget sibi. cede, Palaemon,
et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter quam
institor hibernae tegetis niveique caduci:
dummodo non pereat, mediae quod noctis ab hora
sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet,
qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas,
quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
rara tamen merces quae cognitione tribuni
non egeat. sed vos saevas inponite leges,
ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
tamquam ungues digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus,
dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat
nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis,
quot Siculas Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.
exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,
ut si quis cera voltum facit; exigite ut sit
et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant.
'haec,' inquit, 'cura: set cum se verterit annus,
accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum.'

VIII.

STEMMATA quid faciunt? quid prodest, Pontice, longo
sanguine censeri, pictos ostendere vultus
maiorum et stantis in curribus Aemilianos
et Curios iam dimidios umerosque minorem

Corvinum et Galbam auriculis nasoque carentem?
quis fructus, generis tabula iactare capaci
[Corvinum, posthac multa contingere virga]
fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros,
si coram Lepidis male vivitur? effigies quo
tot bellatorum, si luditur alea pernox
ante Numantinos, si dormire incipis ortu
luciferi, quo signa duces et castra movebant?
cur Allobrogicis et magna gaudeat ara
natus in Herculeo Fabius lare, si cupidus, si
vanus et Euganea quantumvis mollior agna,
si tenerum attritus Catinensi pumice lumbum
squalentis traducit avos emptorque veneni
frangenda miseram funestat imagine gentem?
tota licet veteres exornent undique cerae
atria, nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus.
Paulus vel Cossus vel Drusus moribus esto,
hos ante effigies maiorum pone tuorum,
praecedant ipsas illi te consule virgas.
prima mihi debes animi bona. sanctus haberi
iustitiaeque tenax factis dictisque mereris,
adgnosco procerem; salve, Gaetulice, seu tu
Silanus, quocumque alio de sanguine; rarus
civis et egregius patriae contingis ovanti;
exclamare libet, populus quod clamat Osiri
invento. quis enim generosum dixerit hunc, qui
indignus genere et praeclaro nomine tantum
insignis? nanum cuiusdam Atlanta vocamus,
Aethiopem Cycnum, parvam extortamque puellam
Europen; canibus pigris scabieque vetusta
levibus et siccae lambentibus ora lucernae
nomen erit pardus tigris leo, si quid adhuc est
quod fremat in terris violentius. ergo cavebis
et metues, ne tu sic Creticus aut Camerinus.

His ego quem monui? tecum est mihi sermo, Rubelli

Blande. tumes alto Drusorum stemmate, tamquam
feceris ipse aliquid, propter quod nobilis esses,
ut te conciperet quae sanguine fulget Iuli,
non quae ventoso conducta sub aggere texit.
'vos humiles,' inquis, 'vulgi pars ultima nostri,
quorum nemo queat patriam monstrare parentis:
ast ego Cecropides.' vivas et originis huius
gaudia longa feras! tamen ima plebe Quiritem
facundum invenies; solet hic defendere causas
nobilis indocti; veniet de plebe togata,
qui iuris nodos et legum aenigmata solvat.
hic petit Euphraten iuvenis domitique Batavi
custodes aquilas armis industrius: at tu
nil nisi Cecropides truncoque simillimus Hermae.
nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.
dic mihi, Teucrorum proles, animalia muta
quis generosa putet, nisi fortia? nempe volucrem
sic laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
fervet et exsultat rauco victoria circo.
nobilis hic, quocumque venit de gramine, cuius
clara fuga ante alios et primus in aequore pulvis;
sed venale pecus Coryphaei posteritas et
Hirpini, si rara iugo Victoria sedit.
nil ibi maiorum respectus, gratia nulla
umbrarum; dominos pretiis mutare iubentur
exiguis, trito ducunt epiredia collo
segnipedes dignique molam versare Nepotis.
ergo ut miremur te, non tua, privum aliquid da,
quod possim titulis incidere praeter honores,
quos illis damus ac dedimus, quibus omnia debes.

Haec satis ad iuvenem, quem nobis fama superbum
tradit et inflatum plenumque Nerone propinquo.
rarus enim ferme sensus communis in illa
fortuna; sed te censeri laude tuorum,

Pontice, noluerim sic ut nihil ipse futurae
laudis agas. miserum est aliorum incumbere famae,
ne conlapsa ruant subductis tecta columnis.
stratus humi palmes viduas desiderat ulmos.
esto bonus miles, tutor bonus, arbiter idem
integer. ambiguae si quando citabere testis
incertaeque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
falsus et admoto dictet periuria tauro,
summum crede nefas animam praeferre pudori
et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.
dignus morte perit, cenet licet ostrea centum
Gaurana et Cosmi toto mergatur aeno.
expectata diu tandem provincia cum te
rectorem accipiet, pone irae frena modumque,
pone et avaritiae, miserere inopum sociorum:
ossa vides regum vacuis exucta medullis.
respice, quid moneant leges, quid curia mandet,
praemia quanta bonos maneant, quam fulmine iusto
et Capito et Numitor ruerint damnante senatu,
piratae Cilicum. sed quid damnatio confert?
cum Pansa eripiat quidquid tibi Natta reliquit,
praeconem, Chaerippe, tuis circumspice pannis,
iamque tace; furor est post omnia perdere naulon.
non idem gemitus olim neque vulnus erat par
damnorum sociis florentibus et modo victis.
plena domus tunc omnis, et ingens stabat acervos
nummorum, Spartana chlamys, conchylia Coa,
et cum Parrasii tabulis signisque Myronis
Phidiacum vivebat ebur, nec non Polycliti
multus ubique labor, rarae sine Mentore mensae.
inde Dolabellae atque hinc Antonius, inde
sacrilegus Verres referebant navibus altis
occulta spolia et plures de pace triumphos.
nunc sociis iuga pauca boum, grex parvus equarum
et pater armenti capto eripiatur agello,

ipsi deinde lares, si quod spectabile signum.
[si quis in aedicula deus unicus. haec etenim sunt
pro summis, nam sunt haec maxima. despicias tu]
forsitan inbellis Rhodios unctamque Corinthon
despicias merito; quid resinata iuventus
cruraque totius facient tibi levia gentis?
horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis
Illyricumque latus; parce et messoribus illis,
qui saturant urbem circo scenaeque vacantem.
quanta autem inde feres tam dirae praemia culpae,
cum tenues nuper Marius discinxerit Afros?
curandum in primis, ne magna iniuria fiat
fortibus et miseris. tollas licet omne quod usquam est
auri atque argenti, scutum gladiumque relinques.
[et iaculum et galeam: spoliatis arma supersunt.]
quod modo proposui, non est sententia, verum est:
credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae.
si tibi sancta cohors comitum, si nemo tribunal
vendit acersecomes, si nullum in coniuge crimen,
nec per conventus et cuncta per oppida curvis
unguibus ire parat nummos raptura Celaeno,
tu licet a Pico numeres genus, altaque si te
nomina delectant, omnem Titanida pugnam
inter maiores ipsumque Promethea ponas:
de quocumque voles proavum tibi sumito libro.
quod si praecipitem rapit ambitio atque libido,
si frangis virgas sociorum in sanguine, si te
delectant hebetes lasso lictore secures,
incipit ipsorum contra te stare parentum
nobilitas claramque facem praeferre pudendis.
omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.
quo mihi te solitum falsas signare tabellas
in templis quae fecit avus statuamque parentis
ante triumphalem? quo, si nocturnus adultex

tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo?
Praeter maiorum cineres atque ossa volucri
carpento rapitur pinguis Lateranus, et ipse,
ipse rotam astringit multo sufflamine consul,
nocte quidem, sed luna videt, sed sidera testes
intendunt oculos. finitum tempus honoris
cum fuerit, clara Lateranus luce flagellum
sumét et occursum numquam trepidabit amici
iam senis, ac virga prior annuet atque maniplos
solvet et ihfundet iumentis hordea lassis.
interea dum lanatas robumque iuvencum
more Numae caedit Iovis ante altaria, iurat
solam Eponam et facies olida ad praesepia pictas.
sed cum pervigiles placet instaurare popinas,
obvius adsiduo Syrophoenix udus amomo
[currit, Idumaeae Syrophoenix incola portae]
hospitis adfectu dominum regemque salutat,
et cum venali Cyanis succincta lagona.
defensor culpae dicet mihi 'fecimus et nos
haec iuvenes.' esto. desisti nempe, nec ultra
fovisti errorem. breve sit, quod turpiter audes,
quaedam cum prima resecentur crimina barba,
indulge veniam pueris. Lateranus ad illos
thermarum calices inscriptaque lintea vadit
maturus bello, Armeniae Syriaeque tuendis
amnibus et Rheno atque Histro; praestare Neronem
securum valet haec aetas. mitte Ostia, Caesar,
mitte, sed in magna legatum quaere popina;
invenies aliquo cum percussore iacentem,
permixtum nautis et furibus ac fugitivis,
inter carnifices et fabros sandapilarum
et resupinati cessantia tympana galli.
aequa ibi libertas, communia pocula, lectus
non alius cuiquam, nec mensa remotior ulli.
quid facias talem sortitus, Pontice, servum?

nempe in Lucanos aut Tusca ergastula mittas.
at vos, Troiugenae, vobis ignoscitis, et quae
turpia Cerdoni, Volesos Brutumque decebunt.
Quid, si numquam adeo foedis adeoque pudendis
utimur exemplis, ut non peiora supersint?)
consumptis opibus vocem, Damasippe, locasti
sipario, clamosum ageres ut phasma Catulli.
Laureolum velox etiam bene Lentulus egit,
iudice me dignus vera cruce. nec tamen ipsi
ignoscas populo; populi frons durior huius,
qui sedet et spectat triscurria patriciorum,
planipedes audit Fabios, ridere potest qui
Mamercorum alapas. quanti sua funera vendant,
quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone,
nec dubitant celsi praetoris vendere ludis.
finge tamen gladios inde atque hinc pulpita poni,
quid satius? mortem sic quisquam exhorruit, ut sit
zelotypus Thymeles, stupidi collega Corinthi?
res haut mira tamen citharoedo principe mimus
nobilis. haec ultra quid erit nisi ludus? et illic
dedecus urbis habes, nec mirmillonis in armis,
nec clipeo Gracchum pugnantem aut falce supina,
damnat enim tales habitus, [et damnat et odit,
nec galea faciem abscondit:] movet ecce tridentem et,
postquam vibrata pendentia retia dextra
nequiquam effudit, nudum ad spectacula voltum
erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena.
credamus tunicae, de faucibus aurea cum se
porrigat et longo iactetur spira galero.
ergo ignominiam graviorem pertulit omni
vulnere cum Gracco iussus pugnare secutor.
Libera si dentur populo suffragia, quis tam
perditus, ut dubitet Senecam praeferre Neroni,
cuius supplicio non debuit una parari
simia nec serpens unus nec culleus unus?

par Agamemnonidae crimen, sed causa facit rem
dissimilem: quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
patris erat caesi media inter pocula; sed nec
Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani
sanguine coniugii, nullis aconita propinquis
miscuit, in scena numquam cantavit Orestes,
Troica non scripsit. quid enim Verginius armis
debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba,
quod Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?
haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
maiorum effigies habeant insignia vocis,
ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
syrma vel Antigonae seu personam Menalippes,
et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.
quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
inveniet quisquam sublimius? arma tamen vos
nocturna et flammas domibus templisque paratis,
ut Bracatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
sed vigilat consul vexillaque vestra coércet.
hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis et in omni monte laborat.
tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis ac tituli, quantum vix Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
caedibus assiduis gladio; set Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.
Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro;
nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra:
hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum

excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem,
atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi,
nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.
plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
nomina: pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro
omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
sufficiunt dis infernis terraeque parenti;
pluris enim Decii, quam quae servantur ab illis.
ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
et fasces meruit regum ultimus ille bonorum:
prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
exulibus iuvenes ipsius consulis et quos
magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit.
occulta ad patres produxit crimina servus,
matronis lugendus; at illos verbera iustis
adficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.
Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
et tamen ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo:
maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

LIBER QUARTUS.

* * * *

X.

Omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dinoscere possunt
vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
erroris nebula. quid enim ratione timemus
aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?
evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia, viribus ille
confisus periit admirandisque lacertis.
sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
strangulat et cuncta exuperans patrimonia census,
quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior.
temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos
clausit et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
tota cohors. rarus venit in cenacula miles.
pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri,
nocte iter ingressus gladium contumque timebis
et motae ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbram;
cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.
prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
nostra sit arca foro. sed nulla aconita bibuntur
fictilibus; tunc illa time, cum pocula sumes
gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.
iamne igitur laudas quod de sapientibus alter
ridebat, quotiens de limine moverat unum
protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius auctor?
sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni:

mirandum est, unde ille oculis suffecerit umor.
perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quamquam non essent urbibus illis
praetexta et trabeae fasces lectica tribunal.
quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
exstantem et medii sublimem pulvere circi
in tunica Iovis et pictae Sarrana ferentem
ex umeris aulaea togae magnaeque coronae,
tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus et, sibi consul
ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
da nunc et volucrem, sceptro quae surgit eburno,
illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
agminis officia et niveos ad frena Quirites,
defossa in loculis quos sportula fecit amicos.
tum quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnis
occursus hominum, cuius prudentia monstrat
summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.
ridebat curas, nec non et gaudia vulgi,
interdum et lacrimas, cum fortunae ipse minaci
mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.
Ergo supervacua aut vel perniciosa petuntur,
propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum.
Quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina. descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,
ipsas deinde rotas bigarum inpacta securis
caedit et inmeritis franguntur crura caballis.
iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Seianus; deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum
cretatumque bovem, Seianus ducitur unco

spectandus. gaudent omnes. 'quae labra, quis illi
vultus erat! numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
hunc hominem. sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit?
"nil horum, verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis." 'bene habet; nil plus interrogo.' sed quid
turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
damnatos; idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum. iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
vendimus, effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim
imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et circenses. 'perituros audio multos.'
"nil dubium, magna est fornacula; pallidulus mi
Brutidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram.
quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Aiax
ut male defensus! curramus praecipites et,
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat." hi sermones
tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
visne salutari sicut Seianus? habere
tantundem atque illi summas donare curules,
illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haberi
principis augusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo? vis certe pila cohortes,
egregios equites et castra domestica? quidni
haec cupias? et qui nolunt occidere quemquam,
posse volunt. sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti,
ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum,
huius, qui trahitur, praetextam sumere mavis,
an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora

frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris?
ergo quid optandum foret, ignorasse fateris
Seianum; nam qui nimios optabat honores
et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.
quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit, et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus
magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
ncipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat,
quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. ridenda poemata malo,
quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima. saevus et illum
exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque parante
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.

Bellorum exuviae, truncis adfixa tropaeis
lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum victaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captivos in arcu

humanis maiora bonis creduntur. ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator
erexit: causas discriminis atque laboris
inde habuit. tanto maior famae sitis est, quam
virtutis; quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris.
expende Hannibalem, quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est, quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
rursus ad Aethiopum populos altosque elephantos.
additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
transilit. opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque,
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
'actum,' inquit, 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura.'
o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum!
exitus ergo quis est? o gloria! vincitur idem
nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
anulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!
unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho;
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,

sarcophago contentus erit. mors sola fatetur,
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. creditur olim
velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax
audet in historia, constratum classibus isdem
suppositumque rotis solidum mare, credimus altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
in Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
barbarus Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,
ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum—
mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
credidit. huic quisquam vellet servire deorum!—
sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas!
'Da spatium vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos!'
hoc alto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.
sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
plena malis! deformem et taetrum ante omnia vultum
dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
pendentisque genas et talis aspice rugas,
quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Thabraca saltus,
in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.
plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina, pulchrior ille
hoc, atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo;
una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra
et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi,
frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi.
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.
non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
gaudia * * * * aspice partis
nunc damnum alterius. nam quae cantante voluptas,
sit licet eximius, citharoedo, sitve Seleucus

et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
concentus? clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris,
quem dicat venisse puer, quot nuntiet horas.
praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
febre calet sola, circumsilit agmine facto
morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
promptius expediam, quot amaverit Oppia moechos,
quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus;
percurram citius, quot villas possideat nunc,
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.
ille umero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis; ambos
perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet, huius
pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis,
ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum
suetus hiat tantum, ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem
ore volat pleno mater ieiuna, sed omni
membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici,
cum quo praeterita cenavit nocte, nec illos,
quos genuit, quos eduxit. nam codice saevo
heredes vetat esse suos, bona tota feruntur
ad Phialen.
ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
coniugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae.
haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.
rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos,

quique novum totiens mustum bibit. oro, parumper
attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur
fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni
quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo?
haec eadem Peleus, raptum cum luget Achillem,
atque alius, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.
incolumi Troia Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci magnis sollemnibus, Hectore funus
portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
si foret exstinctus diverso tempore, quo non
coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
et ruit ante aram summi Iovis, ut vetulus bos,
qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
praebet ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.
exitus ille utcumque hominis, sed torva canino
latravit rictu, quae post hunc vixerat uxor.
festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.
exilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere. quid illo cive tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
quum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota

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imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et circenses. 'perituros audio multos.'
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quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus
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ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
ncipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat,
quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. 'ridenda poemata malo,
quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima. saevus et illum
exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque parante
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.

Bellorum exuviae, truncis adfixa tropaeis
lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum victaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captivos in arcu

humanis maiora bonis creduntur. ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator
erexit: causas discriminis atque laboris
inde habuit. tanto maior famae sitis est, quam
virtutis; quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris.
expende Hannibalem, quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est, quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
rursus ad Aethiopum populos altosque elephantos.
additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
transilit. opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque,
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
'actum,' inquit, 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura.'
o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum!
exitus ergo quis est? o gloria! vincitur idem
nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
anulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!
unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho;
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,

sarcophago contentus erit. mors sola fatetur,
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. creditur olim
velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax
audet in historia, constratum classibus isdem
suppositumque rotis solidum mare, credimus altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
in Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
barbarus Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,
ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum—
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hoc, atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo;
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et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi,
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usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
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nunc damnum alterius. nam quae cantante voluptas,
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par Agamemnonidae crimen, sed causa facit rem
dissimilem: quippe ille deis auctoribus ultor
patris erat caesi media inter pocula; sed nec
Electrae iugulo se polluit aut Spartani
sanguine coniugii, nullis aconita propinquis
miscuit, in scena numquam cantavit Orestes,
Troica non scripsit. quid enim Verginius armis
debuit ulcisci magis, aut cum Vindice Galba,
quod Nero tam saeva crudaque tyrannide fecit?
haec opera atque hae sunt generosi principis artes,
gaudentis foedo peregrina ad pulpita cantu
prostitui Graiaeque apium meruisse coronae.
maiorum effigies habeant insignia vocis,
ante pedes Domiti longum tu pone Thyestae
syrma vel Antigonae seu personam Menalippes,
et de marmoreo citharam suspende colosso.
quid, Catilina, tuis natalibus atque Cethegi
inveniet quisquam sublimius? arma tamen vos
nocturna et flammas domibus templisque paratis,
ut Bracatorum pueri Senonumque minores,
ausi quod liceat tunica punire molesta.
sed vigilat consul vexillaque vestra coércet.
hic novus Arpinas, ignobilis et modo Romae
municipalis eques, galeatum ponit ubique
praesidium attonitis et in omni monte laborat.
tantum igitur muros intra toga contulit illi
nominis ac tituli, quantum vix Leucade, quantum
Thessaliae campis Octavius abstulit udo
caedibus assiduis gladio; set Roma parentem,
Roma patrem patriae Ciceronem libera dixit.
Arpinas alius Volscorum in monte solebat
poscere mercedes, alieno lassus aratro;
nodosam post haec frangebat vertice vitem,
si lentus pigra muniret castra dolabra:
hic tamen et Cimbros et summa pericula rerum

excipit, et solus trepidantem protegit urbem,
atque ideo, postquam ad Cimbros stragemque volabant
qui numquam attigerant maiora cadavera corvi,
nobilis ornatur lauro collega secunda.
plebeiae Deciorum animae, plebeia fuerunt
nomina: pro totis legionibus hi tamen et pro
omnibus auxiliis atque omni pube Latina
sufficiunt dis infernis terraeque parenti;
pluris enim Decii, quam quae servantur ab illis.
ancilla natus trabeam et diadema Quirini
et fasces meruit regum ultimus ille bonorum:
prodita laxabant portarum claustra tyrannis
exulibus iuvenes ipsius consulis et quos
magnum aliquid dubia pro libertate deceret,
quod miraretur cum Coclite Mucius et quae
imperii fines Tiberinum virgo natavit.
occulta ad patres produxit crimina servus,
matronis lugendus; at illos verbera iustis
adficiunt poenis et legum prima securis.
Malo pater tibi sit Thersites, dummodo tu sis
Aeacidae similis Vulcaniaque arma capessas,
quam te Thersitae similem producat Achilles.
et tamen ut longe repetas longeque revolvas
nomen, ab infami gentem deducis asylo:
maiorum primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum,
aut pastor fuit aut illud quod dicere nolo.

LIBER QUARTUS.

* * * *

X.

Omnibus in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
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vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
erroris nebula. quid enim ratione timemus
aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?
evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
di faciles; nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia, viribus ille
confisus periit admirandisque lacertis.
sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
strangulat et cuncta exuperans patrimonia census,
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et motae ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbram;
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divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
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quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. ridenda poemata malo,
quam te conspicuae, divina Philippica, famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima. saevus et illum
exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque parante
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.

Bellorum exuviae, truncis adfixa tropaeis
lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum victaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captivos in arcu

humanis maiora bonis creduntur. ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator
erexit: causas discriminis atque laboris
inde habuit. tanto maior famae sitis est, quam
virtutis; quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulchris.
expende Hannibalem, quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est, quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
rursus ad Aethiopum populos altosque elephantos.
additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
transilit. opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque,
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
'actum,' inquit, 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura.'
o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum!
exitus ergo quis est? o gloria! vincitur idem
nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
finem animae, quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
anulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!
unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho;
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,

sarcophago contentus erit. mors sola fatetur,
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. creditur olim
velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax
audet in historia, constratum classibus isdem
suppositumque rotis solidum mare, credimus altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
prandente, et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis.
ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
in Corum atque Eurum solitus saevire flagellis
barbarus Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,
ipsum compedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum—
mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
credidit. huic quisquam vellet servire deorum!—
sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas!
'Da spatium vitae, multos da, Iuppiter, annos!'
hoc alto vultu, solum hoc et pallidus optas.
sed quam continuis et quantis longa senectus
plena malis! deformem et taetrum ante omnia vultum
dissimilemque sui, deformem pro cute pellem
pendentisque genas et talis aspice rugas,
quales, umbriferos ubi pandit Thabraca saltus,
in vetula scalpit iam mater simia bucca.
plurima sunt iuvenum discrimina, pulchrior ille
hoc, atque ille alio, multum hic robustior illo;
una senum facies, cum voce trementia membra
et iam leve caput madidique infantia nasi,
frangendus misero gingiva panis inermi.
usque adeo gravis uxori natisque sibique,
ut captatori moveat fastidia Cosso.
non eadem vini atque cibi torpente palato
gaudia * * * * aspice partis
nunc damnum alterius. nam quae cantante voluptas,
sit licet eximius, citharoedo, sitve Seleucus

et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
concentus? clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris,
quem dicat venisse puer, quot nuntiet horas.
praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
febre calet sola, circumsilit agmine facto
morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
promptius expediam, quot amaverit Oppia moechos,
quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus;
percurram citius, quot villas possideat nunc,
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat.
ille umero, hic lumbis, hic coxa debilis; ambos
perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet, huius
pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis,
ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum
suetus hiat tantum, ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem
ore volat pleno mater ieiuna. sed omni
membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici,
cum quo praeterita cenavit nocte, nec illos,
quos genuit, quos eduxit. nam codice saevo
heredes vetat esse suos, bona tota feruntur
ad Phialen.
ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt
funera natorum, rogus aspiciendus amatae
coniugis et fratris plenaeque sororibus urnae.
haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.
rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos,

quique novum totiens mustum bibit. oro, parumper
attendas, quantum de legibus ipse queratur
fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni
quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo?
haec eadem Peleus, raptum cum luget Achillem,
atque alius, cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem.
incolumi Troia Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci magnis sollemnibus, Hectore funus
portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
si foret exstinctus diverso tempore, quo non
coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
et ruit ante aram summi Iovis, ut vetulus bos,
qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
praebet ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.
exitus ille utcumque hominis, sed torva canino
latravit rictu, quae post hunc vixerat uxor.
festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.
exilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere. quid illo cive tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
quum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota

vicerunt; igitur fortuna ipsius et urbis
servatum victo caput abstulit. hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hac poena caruit ceciditque Cethegus
integer, et iacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

Formam optat modico pueris, maiore puellis
murmure, cum Veneris fanum videt, anxia mater
usque ad delicias votorum. 'cur tamen,' inquit,
'corripias? pulchra gaudet Latona Diana.'
sed vetat optari faciem Lucretia, qualem
ipsa habuit, cuperet Rutilae Verginia gibbum
accipere atque suam Rutilae dare. filius autem
corporis egregii miseros trepidosque parentes
semper habet; rara est adeo concordia formae
atque pudicitiae. sanctos licet horrida mores
tradiderit domus ac veteres imitata Sabinos,
praeterea castum ingenium vultumque modesto
sanguine ferventem tribuat natura benigna
larga manu—quid enim puero conferre potest plus
custode et cura natura potentior omni?—
non licet esse viro; nam prodiga corruptoris
improbitas ipsos audet temptare parentes.
'sed casto quid forma nocet?' quid profuit immo
Hippolyto grave propositum, quid Bellerophonti?
erubuit nempe hac ceu fastidita repulsa
nec Stheneboea minus quam Cressa excanduit, et se
concussere ambae. mulier saevissima tunc est,
cum stimulos odio pudor admovet. elige, quidnam
suadendum esse putes, cui nubere Caesaris uxor
destinat. optimus hic et formosissimus idem
gentis patriciae rapitur miser exstinguendus
Messalinae oculis; dudum sedet illa parato
flammeolo Tyriusque palam genialis in hortis
sternitur, et ritu decies centena dabuntur
antiquo, veniet cum signatoribus auspex.
haec tu secreta et paucis commissa putabas?

non nisi legitime vult nubere. quid placeat, dic;
ni parere velis, pereundum erit ante lucernas;
si scelus admittas, dabitur mora parvula, dum res
nota urbi et populo contingat principis aurem.
dedecus ille domus sciet ultimus. interea tu
obsequere imperio, si tanti vita dierum
paucorum. quidquid meliusque levius putaris,
praebenda est gladio pulchra haec et candida cervix.
'Nil ergo optabunt homines?' si consilium vis,
permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
carior est illis homo, quam sibi. nos animorum
inpulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
coniugium petimus partumque uxoris; at illis
notum, qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem,
qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores,
nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil et potiores
Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
et Venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli.
monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare. semita certe
tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; nos te
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

XI.

Atticus eximie si cenat, lautus habetur;
si Rutilus, demens. quid enim maiore cachinno
excipitur vulgi, quam pauper Apicius? omnis
convictus thermae stationes, omne theatrum
de Rutilo. nam dum valida ac iuvenalia membra
sufficiunt galeae dumque ardent sanguine, fertur
non cogente quidem, sed nec prohibente tribuno
scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.
multos porro vides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
creditor introitum solet exspectare macelli,
et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
egregius cenat meliusque miserrimus horum
et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.
interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt
numquam animo pretiis opstantibus; interius si
attendas, magis illa iuvant, quae pluris emuntur.
ergo haut difficile est perituram arcessere summam
lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
fictile: sic veniunt ad miscellanea ludi.
refert ergo, quis haec eadem paret: in Rutilo nam
luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
sumit et a censu famam trahit. illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit, quanto sublimior Atlas
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignoret, quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus. e caelo descendit *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*,
figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus
esse velis; neque enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se transducebat Ulixes;

ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam
protegere adfectas, te consule, dic tibi qui sis,
orator vehemens, an Curtius et Matho buccae.
noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
in summis minimisque, etiam cum piscis emetur,
ne mullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum
in loculis. quis enim te deficiente culina
et crescente gula manet exitus, aere paterno
ac rebus mersis in ventrem fenoris atque
argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
anulus, et digito mendicat Pollio nudo.
non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.
hi plerumque gradus. conducta pecunia Romae
et coram dominis consumitur; inde ubi paulum
nescio quid superest et pallet fenoris auctor,
qui vertere solum, Baias et ad ostrea currunt.
cedere namque foro iam non est deterius quam
Esquilias a ferventi migrare Subura.
ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
maestitia est, caruisse anno circensibus uno.
sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta, morantur
pauci ridiculum effugientem ex urbe pudorem.

Experiere hodie, numquid pulcherrima dictu,
Persice, non praestem vita vel moribus et re,
si laudem siliquas occultus ganeo, pultes
coram aliis dictem puero, sed in aure placentas.
nam cum sis conviva mihi promissus, habebis
Euandrum, venies Tirynthius aut minor illo
hospes, et ipse tamen contingens sanguine caelum,
alter aquis, alter flammis ad sidera missus.
fercula nunc audi nullis ornata macellis.
de Tiburtino veniet pinguissimus agro
haedulus et toto grege mollior, inscius herbae,

spectandus. gaudent omnes. 'quae labra, quis illi
vultus erat! numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
hunc hominem. sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
delator? quibus indiciis, quo teste probavit?
"nil horum, verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis." 'bene habet; nil plus interrogo.' sed quid
turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
damnatos; idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum. iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
vendimus, effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim
imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et circenses. 'perituros audio multos.'
"nil dubium, magna est fornacula; pallidulus mi
Brutidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram.
quam timeo, victus ne poenas exigat Aiax
ut male defensus! curramus praecipites et,
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat." hi sermones
tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
visne salutari sicut Seianus? habere
tantundem atque illi summas donare curules,
illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haberi
principis augusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo? vis certe pila cohortes,
egregios equites et castra domestica? quidni
haec cupias? et qui nolunt occidere quemquam,
posse volunt. sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti,
ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum,
huius, qui trahitur, praetextam sumere mavis,
an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora

frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Ulubris?
ergo quid optandum foret, ignorasse fateris
Seianum; nam qui nimios optabat honores
et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus et impulsae praeceps immane ruinae.
quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit, et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus
magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

Eloquium ac famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
ncipit optare et totis Quinquatribus optat,
quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'
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quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
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discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
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percussa Oceano Niloque admota tepenti,
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non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
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anulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias!
unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
ut Gyari clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho;
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,

mentio, nec, prima si luce egressa reverti
nocte solet, tacito bilem tibi contrahat uxor.
protinus ante meum quidquid dolet exue limen,
pone domum et servos et quidquid frangitur illis
aut perit, ingratos ante omnia pone sodales.
interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae
Idaeum sollemne colunt, similisque triumpho
praeda caballorum praetor sedet ac, mihi pace
immensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
totam hodie Romam circus capit et fragor aurem
percutit, eventum viridis quo colligo panni.
nam si deficeret, maestam attonitamque videres
hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
consulibus. spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax
sponsio, quos cultae decet adsedisse puellae;
nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
effugiatque togam. iam nunc in balnea salva
fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
ad sextam. facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
magna; voluptates commendat rarior usus.

XII.

Natali, Corvine, die mihi dulcior haec lux,
qua festus promissa deis animalia cespes
expectat. niveam reginae ducimus agnam,
par vellus dabitur pugnanti Gorgone Maura,
sed procul extensum petulans quatit hostia funem
Tarpeio servata Iovi frontemque coruscat,
quippe ferox vitulus, templis maturus et arae

et quibus aurata mos est fulgere lacerna?
quid refert, magni sedeat qua parte theatri,
qui vix cornicines exaudiet atque tubarum
concentus? clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris,
quem dicat venisse puer, quot nuntiet horas.
praeterea minimus gelido iam in corpore sanguis
febre calet sola, circumsilit agmine facto
morborum omne genus, quorum si nomina quaeras,
promptius expediam, quot amaverit Oppia moechos,
quot Themison aegros autumno occiderit uno,
quot Basilus socios, quot circumscripserit Hirrus;
percurram citius, quot villas possideat nunc,
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perdidit ille oculos et luscis invidet, huius
pallida labra cibum accipiunt digitis alienis,
ipse ad conspectum cenae diducere rictum
suetus hiat tantum, ceu pullus hirundinis, ad quem
ore volat pleno mater ieiuna, sed omni
membrorum damno maior dementia, quae nec
nomina servorum nec vultum agnoscit amici,
cum quo praeterita cenavit nocte, nec illos,
quos genuit, quos eduxit. nam codice saevo
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semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.
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exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra computat annos,

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fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
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qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
praebet ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.
exitus ille utcumque hominis, sed torva canino
latravit rictu, quae post hunc vixerat uxor.
festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.
exilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere. quid illo cive tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
quum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota

interiora petit Baianae pervia cumbae
tuti stagna sinus, gaudent ubi vertice raso
garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.
Ite igitur, pueri, linguisque animisque faventes
sertaque delubris et farra inponite cultris
ac mollis ornate focos glebamque virentem!
iam sequar et sacro, quod praestat, rite peracto
inde domum repetam, graciles ubi parva coronas
accipiunt fragili simulacra nitentia cera.
hic nostrum placabo Iovem Laribusque paternis
tura dabo atque omnis violae iactabo colores.
cuncta nitent, longos erexit ianua ramos
et matutinis operatur festa lucernis.
Nec suspecta tibi sint haec, Corvine. Catullus,
pro cuius reditu tot pono altaria, parvos
tres habet heredes. libet expectare, quis aegram
et claudentem oculos gallinam inpendat amico
tam sterili—verum haec nimia est inpensa, coturnix
nulla umquam pro patre cadet. sentire calorem
si coepit locuples Gallitta et Pacius orbi,
legitime fixis vestitur tota libellis
porticus, existunt qui promittant hecatomben,
quatenus hic non sunt nec venales elephanti,
nec Latio aut usquam sub nostro sidere talis
belua concipitur, sed furva gente petita
arboribus Rutulis et Turni pascitur agro,
Caesaris armentum, nulli servire paratum
privato, siquidem Tyrio parere solebant
Hannibali et nostris ducibus regique Molosso
horum maiores ac dorso ferre cohortes
partem aliquam belli, et euntem in proelia turrem.
nulla igitur mora per Novium, mora nulla per Histrum
Pacuvium, quin illud ebur ducatur ad aras
et cadat ante Lares Gallittae victima, sola
tantis digna deis et captatoribus horum.

alter enim, si concedas mactare, vovebit
de grege servorum magna et pulcherrima quaeque
corpora, vel pueris et frontibus ancillarum
imponet vittas, et si qua est nubilis illi
Iphigenia domi, dabit hanc altaribus, etsi
non sperat tragicae furtiva piacula cervae.
laudo meum civem, nec comparo testamento
mille rates; nam si Libitinam evaserit aeger,
delebit tabulas, inclusus carcere nassae,
post meritum sane mirandum, atque omnia soli
forsan Pacuvio breviter dabit, ille superbus
incedet victis rivalibus. ergo vides quam
grande operae pretium faciat iugulata Mycenis.
vivat Pacuvius, quaeso, vel Nestora totum,
possideat quantum rapuit Nero, montibus aurum
exaequet, nec amet quemquam, nec ametur ab ullo!

LIBER QUINTUS.

XIII.

Exemplo quodcumque malo committitur, ipsi
displicet auctori. prima est haec ultio, quod se
iudice nemo nocens absolvitur, improba quamvis
gratia fallaci praetoris vicerit urna.
quid sentire putas omnes, Calvine, recenti
de scelere et fidei violatae crimine? sed nec
tam tenuis census tibi contigit, ut mediocris
iacturae te mergat onus, nec rara videmus
quae pateris; casus multis hic cognitus ac iam
tritus et e medio fortunae ductus acervo.
ponamus nimios gemitus. flagrantior aequo

non debet dolor esse viri, nec vulnere maior.
tu quamvis levium minimam exiguamque malorum
particulam vix ferre potes, spumantibus ardens
visceribus, sacrum tibi quod non reddat amicus
depositum. stupet haec, qui iam post terga reliquit
sexaginta annos, Fonteio consule natus,
an nihil in melius tot rerum proficit usus?
magna quidem, sacris quae dat praecepta libellis
victrix fortunae sapientia; ducimus autem
hos quoque felices, qui ferre incommoda vitae
nec iactare iugum vita didicere magistra.
quae tam festa dies, ut cesset prodere furem
perfidiam fraudes atque omni ex crimine lucrum
quaesitum et partos gladio vel puxide nummos?
rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem quot
Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.
nona aetas agitur peioraque saecula ferri
temporibus, quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa
nomen et a nullo posuit natura metallo;
nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,
quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
sportula. dic, senior bulla dignissime, nescis,
quas habeat veneres aliena pecunia? nescis,
quem tua simplicitas risum vulgo moveat, cum
exigis a quoquam ne peieret et putet ullis
esse aliquod numen templis araeque rubenti?
quondam hoc indigenae vivebant more, priusquam
sumeret agrestem posito diademate falcem
Saturnus fugiens, tunc, cum virguncula Iuno
et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter antris,
nulla super nubes convivia caelicolarum,
nec puer Iliacus, formosa nec Herculis uxor
ad cyathos et iam siccato nectare tergens
bracchia Vulcanus Liparaea nigra taberna,
prandebat sibi quisque deus, nec turba deorum

talis ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
numinibus miserum urguebant Atlanta minori
pondere. nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundi
imperium aut Sicula torvus cum coniuge Pluton,
nec rota nec Furiae nec saxum aut vulturis atri
poena, sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.
inprobitas illo fuit admirabilis aevo,
credebant quo grande nefas et morte piandum,
si iuvenis vetulo non assurrexerat et si
barbato cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret
plura domi fraga et maiores glandis acervos.
tam venerabile erat praecedere quattuor annis,
primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae.
nunc, si depositum non infitietur amicus,
si reddat veterem cum tota aerugine follem,
prodigiosa fides et Tuscis digna libellis,
quaeque coronata lustrari debeat agna.
egregium sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
hoc monstrum puero vel miranti sub aratro
piscibus inventis et fetae conparo mulae,
sollicitus, tamquam lapides effuderit imber
examenque apium longa consederit uva
culmine delubri, tamquam in mare fluxerit amnis
gurgitibus miris et lactis vertice torrens.

Intercepta decem quereris sestertia fraude
sacrilega? quid si bis centum perdidit alter
hoc arcana modo, maiorem tertius illa
summam, quam patulae vix ceperat angulus arcae?
tam facile et pronum est superos contemnere testes,
si mortalis idem nemo sciat. aspice, quanta
voce neget, quae sit ficti constantia vultus.
per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat
et Martis frameam et Cirraei spicula vatis,
per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae
perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem,

addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae,
quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.
si vero et pater est, 'comedam,' inquit, 'flebile nati
sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto.'

Sunt in fortunae qui casibus omnia ponant
et nullo credant mundum rectore moveri,
natura volvente vices et lucis et anni,
atque ideo intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt.
[est alius metuens, ne crimen poena sequatur;]
hic putat esse deos et peierat, atque ita secum:
'decernat quodcumque volet de corpore nostro
Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
dummodo vel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos.
et phthisis et vomicae putres et dimidium crus
sunt tanti. pauper locupletem optare podagram
nec dubitet Ladas, si non eget Anticyra nec
Archigene; quid enim velocis gloria plantae
praestat et esuriens Pisaeae ramus olivae?
ut sit magna, tamen certe lenta ira deorum est;
si curant igitur cunctos punire nocentes,
quando ad me venient? sed et exorabile numen
fortasse experiar; solet his ignoscere. multi
committunt eadem diverso crimina fato;
ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema.'
sic animum dirae trepidum formidine culpae
confirmat, tunc te sacra ad delubra vocantem
praecedit, trahere immo ultro ac vexare paratus.
nam cum magna malae superest audacia causae,
creditur a multis fiducia. mimum agit ille,
urbani qualem fugitivus scurra Catulli;
tu miser exclamas, ut Stentora vincere possis,
vel potius quantum Gradivus Homericus: 'audis,
Iuppiter, haec, nec labra moves, cum mittere vocem
debueris vel marmoreus vel aeneus? aut cur
in carbone tuo charta pia tura soluta

ponimus et sectum vituli iecur albaque porci
omenta? ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est
effigies inter vestras statuamque Vagelli.'
Accipe, quae contra valeat solacia ferre
et qui nec cynicos nec stoica dogmata legit
a cynicis tunica distantia, non Epicurum
suspicit exigui laetum plantaribus horti.
curentur dubii medicis maioribus aegri,
tu venam vel discipulo committe Philippi.
si nullum in terris tam detestabile factum
ostendis, taceo, nec pugnis caedere pectus
te veto nec plana faciem contundere palma,
quandoquidem accepto claudenda est ianua damno,
et maiore domus gemitu, maiore tumultu
planguntur nummi quam funera. nemo dolorem
fingit in hoc casu, vestem diducere summam
contentus, vexare oculos umore coacto:
ploratur lacrimis amissa pecunia veris.
sed si cuncta vides simili fora plena querella,
si deciens lectis diversa parte tabellis
vana supervacui dicunt chirographa ligni,
arguit ipsorum quos littera gemmaque princeps
sardonychum, loculis quae custoditur eburnis:
ten, o delicias! extra communia censes
ponendum, quia tu gallinae filius albae,
nos viles pulli nati infelicibus ovis?
rem pateris modicam et mediocri bile ferendam,
si flectas oculos maiora ad crimina. confer
conductum latronem, incendia sulpure coepta
atque dolo, primos cum ianua colligit ignes;
confer et hos, veteris qui tollunt grandia templi
pocula adorandae robiginis et populorum
dona vel antiquo positas a rege coronas.
haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus, qui
radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam

Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat;
an dubitet? solitum*st* totum conflare tonantem.
confer et artifices mercatoremque veneni
et deducendum corio bovis in mare, cum quo
clauditur adversis innoxia simia fatis.
haec quota pars scelerum, quae custos Gallicus urbis
usque a lucifero donec lux occidat audit?
humani generis mores tibi nosse volenti
sufficit una domus; paucos consume dies, et
dicere te miserum, postquam illinc veneris, aude.
quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus? aut quis
in Meroe crasso maiorem infante mamillam?
caerula quis stupuit Germani lumina, flavam
caesariem et madido torquentem cornua cirro?
nempe quod haec illis natura est omnibus una.
ad subitas Thracum volucres nubemque sonoram
Pygmaeus parvis currit bellator in armis,
mox impar hosti raptusque per aera curvis
unguibus a saeva fertur grue. si videas hoc
gentibus in nostris, risu quatiare; sed illic,
quamquam eadem assidue spectentur proelia, ridet
nemo, ubi tota cohors pede non est altior uno.

Nullane periuri capitis fraudisque nefandae
poena erit?—abreptum crede hunc graviore catena
protinus et nostro—quid plus velit ira?—necari
arbitrio; manet illa tamen iactura, nec umquam
depositum tibi sospes erit, sed corpore trunco
invidiosa dabit minimus solacia sanguis.
'at vindicta bonum vita iucundius ipsa.'
nempe hoc indocti, quorum praecordia nullis
interdum aut levibus videas flagrantia causis:
[quantulacumque adeo est occasio, sufficit irae.]
Chrysippus non dicet idem nec mite Thaletis
ingenium dulcique senex vicinus Hymetto,
qui partem acceptae saeva inter vincla cicutae

accusatori nollet dare. [plurima felix
paulatim vitia atque errores exuit omnes,
prima docet rectum sapientia.] quippe minuti
semper et infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
ultio: continuo sic collige, quod vindicta
nemo magis gaudet, quam femina. cur tamen hos tu
evasisse putes, quos diri conscia facti
mens habet attonitos et surdo verbere caedit
occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?
poena autem vehemens ac multo saevior illis,
quas et Caedicius gravis invenit et Rhadamanthus,
nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
Spartano cuidam respondit Pythia vates,
haut impunitum quondam fore, quod dubitaret
depositum retinere et fraudem iure tueri
iurando. quaerebat enim, quae numinis esset
mens, et an hoc illi facinus suaderet Apollo?
reddidit ergo metu, non moribus; et tamen omnem
vocem adyti dignam templo veramque probavit,
extinctus tota pariter cum prole domoque
et quamvis longa deductis gente propinquis.
has patitur poenas peccandi sola voluntas.
nam scelus intra se tacitum qui cogitat ullum,
facti crimen habet: cedo, si conata peregit?
perpetua anxietas nec mensae tempore cessat
faucibus ut morbo siccis interque molares
difficili crescente cibo; Setina misellus
expuit, Albani veteris pretiosa senectus
displicet; ostendas melius, densissima ruga
cogitur in frontem, velut acri ducta Falerno.
nocte brevem si forte indulsit cura soporem
et toto versata toro iam membra quiescunt,
continuo templum et violati numinis aras
et, quod praecipuis mentem sudoribus urget,
te videt in somnis; tua sacra et maior imago

humana turbat pavidum cogitque fateri.
hi sunt qui trepidant et ad omnia fulgura pallent,
cum tonat exanimes primo quoque murmure caeli;
non quasi fortuitus nec ventorum rabie, set
iratus cadat in terras et vindicet ignis.
illa nihil nocuit, cura graviore timetur
proxima tempestas, velut hoc dilata sereno.
praeterea lateris vigili cum febre dolorem
si coepere pati, missum ad sua corpora morbum
infesto credunt a numine, saxa deorum
haec et tela putant. pecudem spondere sacello
balantem et Laribus cristam promittere galli
non audent; quid enim sperare nocentibus aegris
concessum? vel quae non dignior hostia vita?
[mobilis et varia est ferme natura malorum.]
cum scelus admittunt, superest constantia; quid fas
atque nefas, tandem incipiunt sentire peractis
criminibus. tamen ad mores natura recurrit
damnatos, fixa et mutari nescia. nam quis
peccandi finem posuit sibi? quando recepit
eiectum semel attrita de fronte ruborem?
quisnam hominum est, quem tu contentum videris uno
flagitio? dabit in laqueum vestigia noster
perfidus et nigri patietur carceris uncum
aut maris Aegaei rupem scopulosque frequentes
exulibus magnis. poena gaudebis amara
nominis invisi, tandemque fatebere laetus
nec surdum nec Tiresian quemquam esse deorum.

XIV.

Plurima sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra
et nitidis maculam haesuram figentia rebus,
quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
si damnosa senem iuvat alea, ludit et heres

bullatus parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.
nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propinquo
concedet iuvenis, qui radere tubera terrae,
boletum condire et eodem iure natantis
mergere ficellas didicit, nebulone parente
et cana monstrante gula. cum septimus annus
transierit puerum, nondum omni dente renato,
barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
hinc totidem, cupiet lauto cenare paratu
semper et a magna non degenerare culina.
mitem animum et mores modicis erroribus aequos
praecipit atque animas servorum et corpora nostra
materia constare putat paribusque elementis,
an saevire docet Rutilus, qui gaudet acerbo
plagarum strepitu et nullam Sirena flagellis
conparat, Antiphates trepidi laris ac Polyphemus,
tunc felix, quotiens aliquis tortore vocato
uritur ardenti duo propter lintea ferro?
quid suadet iuveni laetus stridore catenae,
quem mire afficiunt inscripta ergastula, carcer?
rusticus expectas, ut non sit adultera Largae
filia, quae numquam maternos dicere moechos
tam cito nec tanto poterit contexere cursu,
ut non ter deciens respiret? conscia matri
virgo fuit, ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas
implet.
sic natura iubet: velocius et citius nos
corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
cum subeant animos auctoribus. unus et alter
forsitan haec spernant iuvenes, quibus arte benigna
et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan;
sed reliquos fugienda patrum vestigia ducunt
et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
abstineas igitur damnandis. huius enim vel
una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur

ex nobis geniti, quoniam dociles imitandis
turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus, et Catilinam
quocumque in populo videas, quocumque sub axe,
sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec avunculus usquam.
nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat,
intra quae pater est. procul, a procul inde puellae
lenonum et cantus pernoctantis parasiti!
maxima debetur puero reverentia. si quid
turpe paras, ne tu pueri contempseris annos,
sed peccaturo obstet tibi filius infans.
nam si quid dignum censoris fecerit ira
quandoque et similem tibi se non corpore tantum
nec vultu dederit, morum quoque filius et qui
omnia deterius tua per vestigia peccet,
corripies nimirum et castigabis acerbo
clamore ac post haec tabulas mutare parabis.
unde tibi frontem libertatemque parentis,
cum facias peiora senex vacuumque cerebro
iam pridem caput hoc ventosa cucurbita quaerat?
Hospite venturo cessabit nemo tuorum.
'verre pavimentum, nitidas ostende columnas,
arida cum tota descendat aranea tela,
hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter!'
vox domini furit instantis virgamque tenentis.
ergo miser trepidas, ne stercore foeda canino
atria displiceant oculis venientis amici,
ne perfusa luto sit porticus; et tamen uno
semodio scobis haec emendat servulus unus:
illud non agitas, ut sanctam filius omni
aspiciat sine labe domum vitioque carentem?
gratum est quod patriae civem populoque dedisti,
si facis ut patriae sit idoneus, utilis agris,
utilis et bellorum et pacis rebus agendis.
plurimum enim interert, quibus artibus et quibus hunc tu
moribus instituas. serpente ciconia pullos

nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta:
illi eadem sumptis quaerunt animalia pinnis.
vultur iumento et canibus crucibusque relictis
ad fetus properat partemque cadaveris adfert:
hic est ergo cibus magni quoque vulturis et se
pascentis, propria cum iam facit arbore nidos.
sed leporem aut capream famulae Iovis et generosae
in saltu venantur aves, hinc praeda cubili
ponitur: inde autem cum se matura levarit
progenies, stimulante fame festinat ad illam,
quam primum praedam rupto gustaverat ovo.

Aedificator erat Cretonius et modo curvo
litore Caietae, summa nunc Tiburis arce,
nunc Praenesti is in montibus alta parabat
culmina villarum Graecis longeque petitis
marmoribus, vincens Fortunae atque Herculis aedem,
ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.
dum sic ergo habitat Cretonius, inminuit rem,
fregit opes; nec parva tamen mensura relictae
partis erat: totam hanc turbavit filius amens,
dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.

Quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
qua pater abstinuit; mox et praeputia ponunt.
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges
Iudaicum ediscunt et servant ac metuunt ius,
tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moyses,
non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti,
quaesitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos.
sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.

Sponte tamen iuvenes imitantur cetera, solam
inviti quoque avaritiam exercere iubentur.
fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,

cum sit triste habitu vultuque et veste severum,
nec dubie tamquam frugi laudetur avarus,
tamquam parcus homo et rerum tutela suarum
certa magis quam si fortunas servet easdem
Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus. adde quod hunc, de
quo loquor, egregium populus putat adquirendi
artificem; quippe his crescunt patrimonia fabris,
sed crescunt quocumque modo maioraque fiunt
incude assidua semperque ardente camino.
et pater ergo animi felices credit avaros,
qui miratur opes, qui nulla exempla beati
pauperis esse putat, iuvenes hortatur ut illa
ire via pergant et eidem incumbere sectae.
sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa: his protinus illos
inbuit et cogit minimas ediscere sordes,
[mox adquirendi docet insatiabile votum.]
servorum ventres modio castigat iniquo,
ipse quoque esuriens; neque enim omnia sustinet umquam
mucida caerulei panis consumere frusta,
hesternum solitus medio servare minutal
Septembri, nec non differre in tempora cenae
alterius conchem aestivi cum parte lacerti
signatam vel dimidio putrique siluro,
filaque sectivi numerata includere porri:
invitatus ad haec aliquis de ponte negabit.
sed quo divitias haec per tormenta coactas,
cum furor haut dubius, cum sit manifesta phrenesis,
ut locuples moriaris, egentis vivere fato?
interea pleno cum turget sacculus ore,
crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crevit,
et minus hanc optat qui non habet. ergo paratur
altera villa tibi, cum rus non sufficit unum,
et proferre libet fines, maiorque videtur
et melior vicina seges: mercaris et hanc et
arbusta et densa montem qui canet oliva.

quorum si pretio dominus non vincitur ullo,
nocte boves macri lassoque famelica collo
iumenta ad virides huius mittentur aristas,
nec prius inde domum quam tota novalia saevos
in ventres abeant, ut credas falcibus actum.
dicere vix possis quam multi talia plorent
et quot venales iniuria fecerit agros.
sed qui sermones, quam foedae bucina famae!
'quid nocet haec?' inquit 'tunicam mihi malo lupini,
quam si me toto laudet vicinia pago
exigui ruris paucissima farra secantem.'
scilicet et morbis et debilitate carebis,
et luctum et curam effugies, et tempora vitae
longa tibi posthac fato meliore dabuntur,
si tantum culti solus possederis agri,
quantum sub Tatio populus Romanus arabat.
mox etiam fractis aetate ac Punica passis
proelia vel Pyrrum inmanem gladiosque Molossos
tandem pro multis vix iugera bina dabantur
vulneribus. merces haec sanguinis atque laboris
nullis visa umquam meritis minor aut ingratae
curta fides patriae. saturabat glebula talis
patrem ipsum turbamque casae, qua feta iacebat
uxor et infantes ludebant quattuor, unus
vernula, tres domini; sed magnis fratribus horum
a scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera cena
amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollae.
nunc modus hic agri nostro non sufficit horto.
inde fere scelerum causae, nec plura venena
miscuit aut ferro grassatur saepius ullum
humanae mentis vitium quam saeva cupido
inmodici census. nam dives qui fieri vult,
et cito vult fieri: sed quae reverentia legum,
quis metus aut pudor est umquam properantis avari?
'vivite contenti casulis et collibus istis,

o pueri!' Marsus dicebat et Hernicus olim
Vestinusque senex "panem quaeramus aratro,
qui satis est mensis. laudant hoc numina ruris,
quorum ope et auxilio gratae post munus aristae
contingunt homini veteris fastidia quercus.
nil vetitum fecisse volet, quem non pudet alto
per glaciem perone tegi, qui summovet euros
pellibus inversis; peregrina ignotaque nobis
ad scelus atque nefas, quaecumque est, purpura ducit.'
haec illi veteres praecepta minoribus. at nunc
post finem autumni media de nocte supinum
clamosus iuvenem pater excitat: 'accipe ceras,
scribe, puer, vigila, causas age, perlege rubras
maiorum leges aut vitem posce libello.
sed caput intactum buxo naresque pilosas
adnotet et grandes miretur Laelius alas.
dirue Maurorum attegias, castella Brigantum,
ut locupletem aquilam tibi sexagesimus annus
adferat; aut, longos castrorum ferre labores
si piget et trepidum solvunt tibi cornua ventrem
cum lituis audita, pares quod vendere possis
pluris dimidio, nec te fastidia mercis
ullius subeant ablegandae Tiberim ultra
neu credas ponendum aliquid discriminis inter
unguenta et corium. lucri bonus est odor ex re
qualibet. illa tuo sententia semper in ore
versetur, dis atque ipso Iove digna poeta,
"unde habeas, quaerit nemo, sed oportet habere."'
[hoc monstrant vetulae pueris repentibus assae,
hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae!]
talibus instantem monitis quemcumque parentem
sic possem adfari: 'dic, o vanissime, quis te
festinare iubet? meliorem praesto magistro
discipulum. securus abi, vinceris, ut Aiax
praeteriit Telamonem, ut Pelea vicit Achilles.

parcendum est teneris: nondum implevere medullas
maturae mala nequitiae. ast cum pectere barbam
coeperit et longi mucronem admittere cultri,
falsus erit testis, vendet periuria summa
exigua et Cereris tangens aramque pedemque.
elatam iam crede nurum, si limina vestra
mortifera cum dote subit. quibus illa premetur
per somnum digitis! nam quae terraque marique
adquirenda putas, brevior via conferet illi;
nullus enim magni sceleris labor. "haec ego numquam
mandavi," dices olim, "nec talia suasi."
mentis causa malae tamen est et origo penes te.
nam quisquis magni census praecepit amorem,
et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,
[et qui per fraudes patrimonia conduplicare,]
dat libertatem et totas effundit habenas
curriculo; quem si revoces, subsistere nescit
et te contempto rapitur metisque relictis.
nemo satis credit tantum delinquere, quantum
permittas; adeo indulgent sibi latius ipsi.
cum dicis iuveni stultum, qui donet amico,
qui paupertatem levet attollatque propinqui,
et spoliare doces et circumscribere et omni
crimine divitias adquirere, quarum amor in te
quantus erat patriae Deciorum in pectore, quantum
dilexit Thebas, si Graecia vera, Menoeceus;
in quorum sulcis legiones dentibus anguis
cum clipeis nascuntur et horrida bella capessunt
continuo, tamquam et tubicen surrexerit una.
ergo ignem, cuius scintillas ipse dedisti,
flagrantem late et rapientem cuncta videbis;
nec tibi parcetur misero, trepidumque magistrum
in cavea magno fremitu leo tollet alumnus.
nota mathematicis genesis tua; sed grave tardas
exspectare colus: morieris stamine nondum

abrupto. iam nunc obstas et vota moraris,
iam torquet iuvenem longa et cervina senectus.
ocius Archigenen quaere atque eme quod Mithridates
composuit, si vis aliam decerpere ficum
atque alias tractare rosas. medicamen habendum est,
sorbere ante cibum quod debeat et pater et rex.'
Monstro voluptatem egregiam, cui nulla theatra,
nulla aequare queas praetoris pulpita lauti,
si spectes quanto capitis discrimine constent
incrementa domus, aerata multus in arca
fiscus et ad vigilem ponendi Castora nummi,
ex quo Mars ultor galeam quoque perdidit et res
non potuit servare suas. ergo omnia Florae
et Cereris licet et Cybeles aulaea relinquas;
tanto maiores humana negotia ludi.
an magis oblectant animum iactata petauro
corpora quique solet rectum descendere funem,
quam tu, Corycia semper qui puppe moraris
atque habitas, coro semper tollendus et austro,
perditus ac vilis sacci mercator olentis,
qui gaudes pingue antiquae de litore Cretae
passum et municipes Iovis advexisse lagonas?
hic tamen ancipiti figens vestigia planta
victum illa mercede parat brumamque famemque
illa reste cavet; tu propter mille talenta
et centum villas temerarius. aspice portus
et plenum magnis trabibus mare; plus hominum est iam
in pelago, veniet classis quocumque vocarit
spes lucri, nec Carpathium Gaetulaque tantum
aequora transiliet, sed longe Calpe relicta
audiet Herculeo stridentem gurgite solem.
grande operae pretium est, ut tenso folle reverti
inde domum possis tumidaque superbus aluta,
Oceani monstra et iuvenes vidisse marinos.
non unus mentes agitat furor. ille sororis

in manibus vultu Eumenidum terretur et igni,
hic bove percusso mugire Agamemnona credit
aut Ithacum. parcat tunicis licet atque lacernis,
curatoris eget qui navem mercibus implet
ad summum latus et tabula distinguitur unda,
cum sit causa mali tanti et discriminis huius
concisum argentum in titulos faciesque minutas.
occurrunt nubes et fulgura, 'solvite funem,'
frumenti dominus clamat piperisve coempti,
'nil color hic caeli, nil fascia nigra minatur;
aestivum tonat.' infelix hac forsitan ipsa
nocte cadit fractis trabibus, fluctuque premetur
obrutus et zonam laeva morsuque tenebit.
sed cuius votis modo non suffecerat aurum,
quod Tagus et rutila volvit Pactolus harena,
frigida sufficient velantes inguina panni
exiguusque cibus, mersa rate naufragus assem
dum rogat et picta se tempestate tuetur.

Tantis parta malis cura maiore metuque
servantur. misera est magni custodia census.
dispositis praedives amis vigilare cohortem
servorum noctu Licinus iubet, attonitus pro
electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columna
atque ebore et lata testudine. dolia nudi
non ardent cynici; si fregeris, altera fiet
cras domus, atque eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic, qui
nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem,
passurus gestis aequanda pericula rebus.
nullum numen habes, si sit prudentia; nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam. mensura tamen quae
sufficiat census, si quis me consulat, edam:
in quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis,

quantum Socratici ceperunt ante penates.
numquam aliut natura, aliut sapientia dicit.
acribus exemplis videor te cludere? misce
ergo aliquid nostris de moribus, effice summam,
bis septem ordinibus quam lex dignatur Othonis.
haec quoque si rugam trahit extenditque labellum,
sume duos equites, fac tertia quadringenta.
si nondum inplevi gremium, si panditur ultra,
nec Croesi fortuna umquam nec Persica regna
sufficient animo nec divitiae Narcissi,
indulsit Caesar cui Claudius omnia, cuius
paruit imperiis uxorem occidere iussus.

XV.

Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Aegyptus portenta colat? crocodilon adorat
pars haec, illa pavet saturam serpentibus ibin.
effigies sacri nitet aurea cercopitheci,
dimidio magicae resonant ubi Memnone chordae
atque vetus Thebe centum iacet obruta portis.
illic aeluros, hic piscem fluminis, illic
oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
porrum et cepe nefas violare et frangere morsu:
o sanctas gentes, quibus haec nascuntur in hortis
numina! lanatis animalibus abstinet omnis
mensa, nefas illic fetum iugulare capellae:
carnibus humanis vesci licet. attonito cum
tale super cenam facinus narraret Ulixes
Alcinoo, bilem aut risum fortasse quibusdam
moverat, ut mendax aretalogus. 'in mare nemo
hunc abicit saeva dignum veraque Charybdi,
fingentem inmanis Laestrygonas atque Cyclopas?

nam citius Scyllam vel concurrentia saxa
Cyaneis, plenos et tempestatibus utres
crediderim, aut tenui percussum verbere Circes
et cum remigibus grunnisse Elpenora porcis.
tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit?'
sic aliquis merito nondum ebrius et minimum qui
de Corcyraea temetum duxerat urna;
solus enim haec Ithacus nullo sub teste canebat.
nos miranda quidem, set nuper consule Iunco
gesta super calidae referemus moenia Copti,
nos volgi scelus et cunctis graviora cothurnis;
nam scelus, a Pyrra quamquam omnia syrmata volvas,
nullus aput tragicos populus facit. accipe nostro
dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit aevo.

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simultas,
inmortale odium et numquam sanabile vulnus
ardet adhuc, Ombos et Tentyra. summus utrimque
inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
odit uterque locus, cum solos credat habendos
esse deos, quos ipse colit. set tempore festo
alterius populi rapienda occasio cunctis
visa inimicorum primoribus ac ducibus, ne
laetum hilaremque diem, ne magnae gaudia cenae
sentirent, positis ad templa et compita mensis
pervigilique toro, quem nocte ac luce iacentem
septimus interdum sol invenit. [horrida sane
Aegyptos, sed luxuria, quantum ipse notavi,
barbara famoso non cedit turba Canopo.
adde quod et facilis victoria de madidis et
blaesis atque mero titubantibus.] inde virorum
saltatus nigro tibicine, qualiacumque
unguenta et flores multaeque in fronte coronae,
hinc ieiunum odium. sed iurgia prima sonare
incipiunt animis ardentibus, haec tuba rixae.
dein clamore pari concurritur, et vice teli

saevit nuda manus. paucae sine vulnere malae,
vix cuiquam aut nulli toto certamine nasus
integer, aspiceres iam cuncta per agmina vultus
dimidios, alias facies et hiantia ruptis
ossa genis, plenos oculorum sanguine pugnos.
ludere se credunt ipsi tamen et pueriles
exercere acies, quod nulla cadavera calcent.
et sane quo tot rixantis milia turbae,
si vivunt omnes? ergo acrior impetus, et iam
saxa inclinatis per humum quaesita lacertis
incipiunt torquere, domestica seditioni
tela, nec hunc lapidem qualis et Turnus et Aiax,
vel quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam
Aeneae, sed quem valeant emittere dextrae
illis dissimiles et nostro tempore natae.
nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescebat Homero;
terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos.
ergo deus, quicumque aspexit, ridet et odit.

A deverticulo repetatur fabula. postquam,
subsidiis aucti, pars altera promere ferrum
audet et infestis pugnam instaurare sagittis:
terga fuga celeri praestant instantibus Ombis
qui vicina colunt umbrosae Tentyra palmae.
labitur hinc quidam nimia formidine cursum
praecipitans, capiturque. ast illum in plurima sectum
frusta et particulas, ut multis mortuus unus
sufficeret, totum corrosis ossibus edit
victrix turba, nec ardenti decoxit aeno
aut veribus; longum usque adeo tardumque putavit
expectare focos, contenta cadavere crudo.
hic gaudere libet, quod non violaverit ignem,
quem summa caeli raptum de parte Prometheus
donavit terris. elemento gratulor et te
exultare reor. sed qui mordere cadaver
sustinuit, nil umquam hac carne libentius edit.

nam scelere in tanto ne quaeras et dubites an
prima voluptatem gula senserit; ultimus autem
qui stetit absumpto iam toto corpore, ductis
per terram digitis aliquid de sanguine gustat.
Vascones, haec fama est, alimentis talibus olim
produxere animas: sed res diversa, sed illic
fortunae invidia est bellorumque ultima, casus
extremi, longae dira obsidionis egestas.
[huius enim, quod nunc agitur, miserabile debet
exemplum esse cibi, sicut modo dicta mihi gens]
post omnes herbas, post cuncta animalia, quidquid
cogebat vacui ventris furor, hostibus ipsis
pallorem ac maciem et tenues miserantibus artus,
membra aliena fame lacerabant, esse parati
et sua. quisnam hominum veniam dare quisve deorum
urbibus abnueret dira atque inmania passis
et quibus illorum poterant ignoscere manes,
quorum corporibus vescebantur? melius nos
Zenonis praecepta monent; nec enim omnia, quaedam
pro vita facienda putant: sed Cantaber unde
stoicus, antiqui praesertim aetate Metelli?
nunc totus Graias nostrasque habet orbis Athenas,
Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos,
de conducendo loquitur iam rhetore Thyle.
nobilis ille tamen populus, quem diximus, et par
virtute atque fide, sed maior clade, Zagynthos,
tale quid excusat: Maeotide saevior ara
Aegyptos. quippe illa nefandi Taurica sacri
inventrix homines, ut iam quae carmina tradunt
digna fide credas, tantum immolat, ulterius nil
aut gravius cultro timet hostia. quis modo casus
impulit hos? quae tanta fames infestaque vallo
arma coegerunt tam detestabile monstrum
audere? anne aliam terra Memphitide sicca
invidiam facerent nolenti surgere Nilo?

qua nec terribiles Cimbri nec Britones umquam
Sauromataeque truces aut immanes Agathyrsi,
hac saevit rabie inbelle et inutile vulgus,
parvula fictilibus solitum dare vela phaselis
et brevibus pictae remis incumbere testae.
nec poenam sceleri invenies, nec digna parabis
supplicia his populis, in quorum mente pares sunt
et similes ira atque fames. mollissima corda
humano generi dare se natura fatetur,
quae lacrimas dedit; haec nostri pars optima sensus.
plorare ergo iubet causam dicentis amici
squaloremque rei, pupillum ad iura vocantem
circumscriptorem, cuius manantia fletu
ora puellares faciunt incerta capilli.
naturae imperio gemimus, quum funus adultae
virginis occurrit vel terra clauditur infans
et minor igne rogi. quis enim bonus et face dignus
arcana, qualem Cereris vult esse sacerdos,
ulla aliena sibi credit mala? separat hoc nos
a grege mutorum, atque ideo venerabile soli
sortiti ingenium divinorumque capaces
atque exercendis capiendisque artibus apti
sensum a caelesti demissum traximus arce,
cuius egent prona et terram spectantia. mundi
principio indulsit communis conditor illis
tantum animas, nobis animum quoque, mutuus ut nos
adfectus petere auxilium et praestare iuberet,
dispersos trahere in populum, migrare vetusto
de nemore et proavis habitatas linquere silvas,
aedificare domos, laribus coniungere nostris
tectum aliud, tutos vicino limine somnos
ut conlata daret fiducia, protegere armis
lapsum aut ingenti nutantem vulnere civem,
communi dare signa tuba, defendier isdem
turribus atque una portarum clave teneri

sed iam serpentum maior concordia. parcit
cognatis maculis similis fera. quando leoni
fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore umquam
exspiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
perpetuam, saevis inter se convenit ursis.
ast homini ferrum letale incude nefanda
produxisse parum est, cum rastra et sarcula tantum
adsueti coquere et marris ac vomere lassi
nescierint primi gladios extendere fabri.
aspicimus populos, quorum non sufficit irae
occidisse aliquem, sed pectora brachia vultum
crediderint genus esse cibi. quid diceret ergo
vel quo non fugeret, si nunc haec monstra videret
Pythagoras, cunctis animalibus abstinuit qui
tamquam homine et ventri indulsit non omne legumen?

XVI.

Quis numerare queat felicis praemia, Galli,
militiae? nam si subeuntur prospera castra,
me pavidum excipiat tironem porta secundo
sidere. plus etenim fati valet hora benigni,
quam si nos Veneris commendet epistola Marti
et Samia genetrix quae delectatur harena.
Commoda tractemus primum communia, quorum
haut minimum illud erit, ne te pulsare togatus
audeat, immo etsi pulsetur, dissimulet nec
audeat excussos praetori ostendere dentes
et nigram in facie tumidis livoribus offam
atque oculum medico nil promittente relictum.
Bardaicus iudex datur haec punire volenti
calceus et grandes magna ad subsellia surae,
legibus antiquis castrorum et more Camilli

servato, miles ne vallum litiget extra
et procul a signis. iustissima centurionum
cognitio est igitur de milite, nec mihi derit
ultio, si iustae defertur causa querellae:
tota cohors tamen est inimica, omnesque manipli
consensu magno efficiunt, curabilis ut sit
vindicta et gravior quam iniuria. dignum erit ergo
declamatoris mulino corde Vagelli,
cum duo crura habeas, offendere tot caligas, tot
milia clavorum. quis tam procul absit ab urbe
praeterea, quis tam Pylades, molem aggeris ultra
ut veniat? lacrimae siccentur protinus, et se
excusaturos non sollicitemus amicos.
'da testem,' iudex cum dixerit, audeat ille
nescio quis, pugnos qui vidit, dicere 'vidi,'
et credam dignum barba dignumque capillis
maiorum. citius falsum producere testem
contra paganum possis, quam vera loquentem
contra fortunam armati contraque pudorem.
Praemia nunc alia atque alia emolumenta notemus
sacramentorum. convallem ruris aviti
improbus aut campum mihi si vicinus ademit,
et sacrum effodit medio de limite saxum,
quod mea cum patulo coluit puls annua libo,
debitor aut sumptos pergit non reddere nummos,
vana supervacui dicens chirographa ligni,
expectandus erit qui lites inchoet annus
totius populi. sed tunc quoque mille ferenda
taedia, mille morae: totiens subsellia tantum
sternuntur; iam facundo ponente lacernas
Caedicio et Fusco iam micturiente, parati
digredimur lentaque fori pugnamus harena.
ast illis, quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit,
quod placitum est ipsis praestatur tempus agendi,
nec res atteritur longo sufflamine litis.

Solis praeterea testandi militibus ius
vivo patre datur; nam quae sunt parta labore
militiae, placuit non esse in corpore census,
omne tenet cuius regimen pater. ergo Coranum
signorum comitem castrorumque aera merentem
quamvis iam tremulus captat pater. hunc favor aequus
provehit et pulchro reddit sua dona labori.
ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur,
ut, qui fortis erit, sit felicissimus idem,
ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus omnes.

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D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATURAE XIII

THIRTEEN SATIRES OF

JUVENAL

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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NOTES.

SATIRE I.

ON THE WICKEDNESS OF ROME.

THE first Satire of Juvenal is one of the most vigorous in detached passages and the most clumsily constructed as a whole. It looks as if he had written two different prefaces at various times and had then decided to weld them together. It is the work of a genuine rhetorician, scathing and lucid in style, but loose, inharmonious, inconsistent in construction. In the first portion, which apparently ends at l. 80, but of which ll. 147–171 were no doubt a part, he supposes himself replying to an imaginary friend who wishes to dissuade him from writing. Juvenal pleads, ll. 1–18, that he is pestered by poets of every quality who deal with unreal themes, and it is absurd for one who has mastered the craft not to say what he is full of. But why write a satire? ll. 19–21. How is it possible not to write a satire when the real world is thronged with such grotesque and foul shapes, when the eunuch marrying a wife, the female gladiator, the prosperous informer, the wealthy parasite, the wretch who sells his virility, and the despoiler of a province, are the first forms revealed by the lantern of truth? ll. 22–51. Are the stories of Hercules, and Theseus, and Daedalus more wonderful than the tale of how one may make a fortune by his wife's shame, and another expects a commission for having squandered his estate in the stables? ll. 52–61. Could you not fill a book at the crossings, as one litter carries past you the wealthy forger and another the matron of good family who belonged to the club for poisoning husbands? The lesson of life is that wealth is only acquired by crimes at which the blood boils, and which force indignation to speak out in verse, ll. 62–80.

The construction now changes, and Juvenal explains that he is writing a book to describe human wishes and passions and feelings since man was born into the world, ll. 81–86. He seems to promise a description of various vices, but instead of this we have an elaborate complaint of the poverty of the nobility, together with the description of the hard lot of a client. For when was material more abundant? When was the gambling instinct stronger? or the insolence and worship of wealth more marked? We have done all but build temples to money, and what remains for the people but to starve if

the nobility retrench the extravagance of dole-giving to paupers, who as often as not cheat them? ll. 87–126. Meantime, while the old dependents of his house steal away sadly, the patrician, recruited by a day of diversified occupation, lies down in his empty hall to a splendid banquet at which he is the only guest, and where he will perhaps gorge till he dies, ll. 127–146.

The Satire now reverts to conversation. Juvenal asks whether he may not launch out fearlessly since we have reached a climax to which coming ages can add nothing new in infamy. 'True,' he admits, 'you may ask where I get the talent to handle such material.' 'I ask,' says the friend, 'where you get the leave to talk about it? All very well to attack a private person, but touch the Emperor's favourite, and you will be burned for a Christian and an incendiary.' 'What, am I to look on quietly while the man who has poisoned three uncles stares down on me from his litter?' 'If you so much as show that you know him, you will be suspected of talking about his crime. If you want to be safe, write like Vergil about dead heroes, not like Lucilius about living men.' 'So be it; I will confine my criticisms to those who are already in the grave,' ll. 147–171.

The date of the first portion of this Satire may be referred with some positiveness to the early years of Trajan by the allusions to reciters and to Marius. By the bitterness of the allusion to promotions by favour in the army it would seem that Juvenal was still or had quite lately been a soldier. The second portion, ll. 81–146, has more of the didactic and religious character about it; and seems to belong to the time when Juvenal's hopes from wealthy patrons were exhausted.

The opening part of this Satire has been imitated by Byron in the beginning of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers. This is one of the Satires which Dryden translated.

ARGUMENT.

When I am condemned to hear so much pedantry I feel that I must have my revenge; and that revenge must consist in paying out my adversaries in their own coin, i.e. by writing. The writer of the present age must perforce be a satirist, thanks to our social system under which upstarts are the princes of society and criminals regarded with respect, and their crimes are regarded as merely venal. The danger is great, I admit: but the attempt must be made to attack it: and if I do not dare to attack the living, I will at least show up the actions of the dead.

1. **auditor.** A mere hearer at recitations, which were made the fashion at Rome by Asinius Pollio. Authors recited their new compositions in public or in private, cf. Hor. Sat. i. 10. 38. As political interest faded, an affectation of literary interest came into fashion. The younger Pliny, Ep. i. 13, refers to these recitations with approval, 'toto mense Aprili nullus fere dies quo non recitaret aliquis,' etc.

reponam, 'retaliate,' 'pay back in kind:' used either of paying back debts as Plaut. Pers. i. 1. 39 (quoted by Lewis), or of giving back evil for evil, cf. Sen. Ep. 81. 8 'non dicimus reposuit beneficium aut solvit.'

2. **totiens.** The recitations lasted sometimes several days; cf. Plin. Ep. iii. 18. 4. 'Totiens' implies that the same poem was *often* recited.

Theseide. Some second-rate epic on the subject of Theseus.

rauci. Juvenal has in mind Hor. Sat. i. 4. 65 'Sulcius acer Ambulat et Caprius rauci male.' It may be observed, once for all, that no poet seems to have been more in Juvenal's mind than Horace. He is full of indirect allusions to his predecessor. On the whole subject cf. De Iuvenale Horatii imitatore, by Schwartz (Halle, 1882).

3. **togatas** (**fabulas**). Comedies on Roman subjects, in which the characters appear in the Roman national costume. These were opposed to 'palliatae' or comedies on Greek subjects, in which the scene was laid at Athens. Most of the Roman plays were of this nature. 'Praetextae' again was the name given to tragedies on Roman subjects, as opposed to 'crepidatae.'

4. **ingens Telephus.** Stock heroes, such as Telephus, king of Mysia, wounded by Achilles' spear and cured by the touch of its wood. The story belonged to the 'Cypria' and was adopted by Aeschylus and Euripides. Ennius and Accius adopted the themes from the above-mentioned Greek poets.

5. Or an **Orestes**, the border filled to the very end, written on the back as well, and still not finished.

summus liber = 'pars summa libri.' 'Summus' is regularly used for the extremity in any direction. Weidner quotes the phrase 'Summam manum alicui imponere.' It was customary to write on one side of the parchment only: parchments written on both sides were called opisthographi.

7. **Lucus Martis.** Among the Colchi, cf. Mart. xii. 53. 4, but become a tedious commonplace among the poets; as was the 'Antrum Volcani' described by Verg. Aen. viii. 370 sq., but harped on by later poets.

8. **Aeoliis rupibus.** The Lipari islands. Verg. Aen. viii. 422 calls them 'Volcani domus.'

9. The doings of the winds as described by Vergil, Aen. i. 81 sq. and modelled on Greek descriptions of the Nostoi.

quas torqueat. The ghosts which Aeacus is torturing, as described by Vergil, Aen. vi. 295.

10. **alius** (**Jason**). There is a tone of contempt conveyed by the use of the diminutive 'pelliculae' for the golden fleece, as if we were to talk of 'the smuggled sheepskin.' It is characteristic of Juvenal as an author of a learned age, to avoid mentioning the name of the person to whom he refers, but to leave it to the reader to gather by the aid of his literary reminiscences.

11. 'The girth of the mountain ashes tossed about by Monychus;' a centaur of whom Ovid, Met. xii. 510 says 'insani deiectam viribus

Austri Forte trabem nanctus validum coniecit in hostem Exemplumque fuit.' The word stands for *μονάνυχος*.

12. **Frontonis.** Some patron who lent his hall for recitation to poor poets. That the halls of rich men were sometimes planted with plane trees we learn from Pliny i. 3 'Quid platanon opacissimus?'

marmora, not 'marble statues,' but 'marble work' generally, referring specially to the marble slabs let into or used as facing to the brick walls.

13. **assiduo lectore.** For the ablative of the personal agent without 'a' or 'ab' cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1. 94, and Od. i. 6. 2 (where, however, 'aliti' has been suggested as a dative of the agent). Here, however, the absence of 'a' or 'ab' seems explicable by the fact that the expression stands for 'assiduitate lectorum,' and the construction therefore follows that of the ordinary impersonal ablative of the agent. The verse is a parody of Vergil, Georg. iii. 328 'cantu querulae rumpunt arbusta cicadae.'

15–22. 'You must know, then, that I have flinched from the rod as well as others; I have learnt to recite: I have practised "suasoriae," and in discussing Sulla's conduct, I took the view that it would have been better for him, after attaining the dictatorship, to retire on his laurels. Would it not then be mistaken clemency for one so fitted for the task as I am, to refrain from writing, even though I should write merely to revenge myself?' Such were the regular subjects of these 'suasoriae:' a public man's public conduct was discussed and commented upon. Dio Cassius represents such another discussion as taking place in 726 A. U. C. in Augustus' council of ministers: Agrippa recommending the restoration of freedom: Maecenas insisting on the maintenance of the monarchy.

16. **altum dormiret**, a cognate accusative; the object consisting in a substantival adjective connected in sense with the verb.

18. **vatibus** (satirical), 'inspired bards.' 'Vates' is a word which, meaning originally a 'singer,' was deemed less honourable than 'poeta' by Ennius: vide Munro, Lucretius i. 102. But Vergil and Horace brought the name into repute. Thus the idea here is 'You meet with so many bards, all of whom say that they are inspired.'

perituraе, i.e. which will be spoiled by some one else, if not by myself.

19. **decurrere.** Used strictly of military manœuvres: as we might say, 'to parade' in this field.

20. 'Aurunca's great foster-child' is Lucilius, the father of Roman personal Satire, born 148 A.D. at Suessa Aurunca; cf. Quintilian viii. 1. 3 'Quare et verba omnia et vox huius *alumnum* urbis oleant.' On the bravery with which he attacked abuses in high places cf. Persius i. 115, and Horace, Sat. ii. 1. 69 and ib. line 29 'Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque.' He was 'magnus' alike by fame and family, being an eques, and the great-uncle on the mother's side of Pompeius Magnus. Pliny, N. H. (Preface) speaks of him as being the first to form a Roman style, 'Primus condidit stili nasum.' The word 'alumnus' is a passive

participial formation, meaning 'the one nurtured,' and its formation is similar to that of the Greek past participle in *-μενος*.

22–80. 'I am naturally enough driven to Satire by the unnatural circumstances of our social life; look at the effeminacy of the men, the unnatural manliness of the women; the arrogance of the upstarts.'

22. **Maevia**, unknown; she appears in the amphitheatre fighting wild beasts. Cf. Mart. vii. 67; Tac. Ann. xv. 32 'Feminarum inlustrium senatorumque plures per arenam foedati sunt.'

Tuscum, as particularly fierce. Cf. Statius, Silvae iv. 6. 10 'Cur Tuscus aper generosior Umbro.' Juvenal seems to have been familiar with the whole passage.

23. **nuda mamma**, in the amphitheatre like an Amazon. Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 492; xi. 648 'At medias inter caedes exsultat Amazon Unum exserta latus.'

24. **unus**, probably Cinnamus. Cf. Mart. vii. 64 'Qui tonsor fueras tota notissimus urbe Et post hoc dominae munere factus eques.' On the scorn with which aristocratic Rome looked down on upstarts see Becker, Gallus iii. 136.

25. This line recurs again at x. 226. It is probably a parody on Vergil, Ecl. i. 29 'Candidior postquam tondenti barba cadebat.'

gravis to be taken with 'sonabat;' 'beneath whose clipping shears my beard sounded so grandly in my younger days.' 'Gravis' seems to refer to the *weight* which he felt his beard lent him; it can hardly mean 'superfluous,' as Mr. Lewis would take it. 'Gravis' may refer to the sound, as 'sonus gravis' is opposed to 'sonus acutus,' but a reference to the Roman 'gravitas' which he thought was lent him by his beard seems more likely.

26. **pars Niliacae plebis**. This 'spawn of the *canaille* of the Delta,' hateful at all times to a genuine Roman, was doubly hated since Cleopatra's time.

Verna is a slave born and bred at Canopus. 'Verna' probably for *vesna*, from the root 'vas,' 'to dwell,' seen in 'sa-vas-tar,' the probable origin of *soror*; lit. 'she who dwells with the brother.'

27. **Crispinus**, spoken of in Satire iv. 1; he was made an eques by Domitian. He began by being a seller of fish in Egypt. Martial has an Epigram on him, vii. 99.

umero revocante. His shoulder 'hitching up,' or more properly 'hitching forward.' The 'lacernae' were light purple cloaks worn over the 'toga;' cf. Sat. ix. 28. Crispinus, with an effeminate movement of the shoulders, jerked his lacerna forward. Ammianus Marcellinus, xiv. 6. § 9, gives as some of the signs and causes of the decadence of Rome, the love of statues, dress, and wealth; and, referring to the 'lacernae' here in question, he says that men make a show of them, 'Expandentes eas crebris agitationibus maximeque sinistra ut longiores fimbriae tunicaeque perspicue luceant varietate liciorum *effigiatae in species animalium* multiformes.' Thus, if the 'lacerna' dragged too much behind, the pattern of the animal delineated in front would disappear.

28. He has a special light ring for summer; and he shakes his hand in the wind to cool this; at the same time the motion serves to make his ring flash in the sun. Martial speaks of the heaviness of the rings worn by some Romans, xi. 37 'Annulus iste tuus fuerat modo cruribus aptus: Non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt.'

30. **Satura**, said by the grammarians to have originally signified a 'hotch potch' of different ingredients served up together; and the original form is said to have been 'lanx satura;' this will answer to the 'farrago' or '*medley*' (i. e. of pictures of contemporary society) which Juvenal expressly declares his works to be. 'Per saturam' is used in the meaning 'all in one mass.' See the note on 'Satura.'

iniquae, 'unfair,' because admitting such inequalities.

31. **tam ferreus**, i. e. case-hardened.

33. The palanquin is filled by himself, though there was room for two, as we learn from Suet. Nero 9. Weidner supposes that under the denomination of 'delator' the M. Aquilius Regulus is meant who is spoken of by Pliny, Ep. i. 5. 14, and in iv. 2. 4, in terms which would suit this passage. On the 'delatores' see Tac. Hist. iv. 42. These 'delatores,' like the French *mouchards* under the second Empire, were amongst the 'instrumenta imperii.' On Tiberius' encouragement of the 'delatores' see Merivale, Hist. of the Roman Empire v. 265, and on M. Aquilius Regulus see vol. vii. 387.

34. It was the policy of the Empire to suppress the nobility. They were successively persecuted by Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian, especially the last. Cf. Sat. iv. 85 sq.

The expression **rapturus quod superest de nobilitate comesa** reminds us of 'Nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat; et tamen illud Perdidit infelix totum nihil' Sat. iii. 208.

35. **Massa**, in 70 A. D., Procurator of Africa: a notorious 'delator.' Cf. Tac. Hist. iv. 50. Martial speaks of him, xii. 29, as 'fur nummorum.' Herennius Senecio and Pliny accused him 'repetundarum,' after his proconsulate in Baetica, and he was condemned.

36. **Mettius Carus** was another informer equally notorious, who procured the condemnation of Herennius Senecio in 73 A.D. Cf. Plin. Ep. i. 5. 3.

44. Beer alleges that the reading of P. is **Lugudunensem**, and we have therefore adopted it into the text. He gives many instances of the word occurring in the form 'Lugudunum' on coins and in inscriptions, e. g. Cohen, Descr. Hist. des Monnaies Imp. i. 51. 4, and Dio Cassius, xlvi. 50, who expressly speaks of the town as *Λουγούδουνον μὲν ὀνομασθέν, νῦν δὲ Λούγδουνον καλούμενον*. A terra-cotta medallion found in Orange represents the genius of Lugudunum with sceptre and cornucopia; at its feet sits a raven on a rock; see Froehner, Les Musées de France pl. xv. n. 2, and p. 59 f. These birds are supposed to have been the symbols of the Celtic God Lugus (answering to the Roman Mercurius), gen. Lugovas (Irish Lug, gen. Loga); thus Lŭgŭ-dunon will = 'Lugu's *festivals*.' This etymology was proposed by Arbois de Jubainville

Revue archéologique, N. S. (1878) p. 388, and is approved by Beer. The name of the god Lugus is preserved in the British local name Lugo-vallo, the present Carlisle (Itinerarium Antonini p. 467, 2); and a Celtic name Lugu-magus = 'field of Lugus' has given us the modern Louth. Others have seen in 'lugu' the old Irish 'lau' = Greek ἐλαχύ-s, 'small;' so that Lugudunum would = Littleton.

45. **iecur**. The seat of the strongest passions, as 'cor' was the seat of wit. Cf. Hor. Od. i. 13, 4 'fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.'

46. **premit**, 'jostles,' 'treads on the heels of.'

49. **Marius Priscus** was tried and condemned to banishment in 100 A.D. for his extortions in the province of Africa, which were carried out on almost as extensive a scale as those of Verres in Sicily. Cf. Plin. Ep. ii. 11. Pliny, in conjunction with Tacitus, accused him 'de repetundis.' We gather that he lived comfortably enough in his exile on his ill-gotten gains; so that the condemnation did little good. Cf. Plin. Ep. iii. 4. 8, etc. To dine before the ninth hour was unusual. See Mart. iv. 8. 6.

exul, from 'ex' and the root 'sal,' seen in salire.

50. The province gets its verdict and suffers all the same.

51. This is worthy of the midnight oil of a Horace (born at Venusia). Horace expressly tells us that, like Lucilius, Juvenal's model, he intended to satirise persons. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 46 'Qui me commorit melius non tangere, clamo!'

52. **agitem**, 'deal with,' 'treat of.'

sed quid magis? 'Nay, what should I rather choose to treat of than this? Should it be of the fables of Hercules or trivial tales about Diomede, etc., *when* all the time such doings are in vogue with us?' With **Heracleas** 'fabulas' is understood, just as Mostellaria stands for 'fabula Mostellaria.' Cf. Mart. iv. 49 and x. 4, where the same views are expressed.

53. **mugitum labyrinthi**, the bellowing of the Minotaur in the Cretan maze.

54. **puero**, Icarus: **fabrum volantem**, Daedalus: but the language is satirical; as we might say 'the flying joiner.' 'Puero' is the ablative of the instrument, seen in such cases as 'testibus convictum esse,' where the persons are looked on merely as the means. Cf. note on line 13.

58. 'When a young nobleman looks for the command of a cohort, though he has ruined himself by furious driving along the Flaminian Way, a true charioteer, *for* he did not disdain to hold the reins while he flaunted his skill before his masculine mistress.'

cura and 'curare' are military words expressive of military commands; cf. Tac. Hist. ii. 24. **curam cohortis**, i. e. a tribuneship in the army.

59. **caret** naturally follows *donavit*, having virtually a perfect sense, 'and he has lost.' The present after 'dum' is regular after a perfect clause, equivalent to a participial phrase. Cf. the use of the French 'qui' with a finite verb. Cf. notes on iii. 10. v. 94.

61. **Flaminiam.** The great northern road to Ariminum.

Automedon. He in fact imitates a regular charioteer; as we might say 'a regular Jehu.' Automedon was proverbial from such passages as Verg. Aen. ii. 477 'Equorum agitator Achillis armiger Automedon.' **nam** gives the reason for Juvenal's styling him a regular charioteer or professional; he was not ashamed to drive himself. Juvenal was no admirer of those 'who witch the world with noble horsemanship,' and held driving oneself to be inconsistent with the traditional Roman 'gravitas.'

62. **lacernatae.** His lady friend had donned a man's 'lacerna.'

64. He has *now* a 'lectica hexaphoros;' in a short time he will have an 'octaphoros:' see Martial vi. 84. Catullus was able to save enough in Bithynia, he tells us (x. 20), 'octo homines parare rectos Ad lecticam.'

65. **hinc atque inde**: for the more classical 'hinc atque hinc.'

The **cathedra** was a woman's lounge, Mart. iii. 63, and the occupant was not ashamed to be seen in it: nay, he actually drew back the curtains that he might be seen.

66. 'He puts you much in mind of **Maecenas** that prince of loungers.' Cf. Sat. xii. 39 and Sen. Ep. 114.

67. **signator, falso.** A forger, who by knavery, viz. a short will and a wet seal, has made himself luxurious and wealthy. **Exiguis tabulis** and **gemma uda** are an expansion of 'falso.' Others, like W., take 'signator falso' together; he explains 'falso' as a dative, 'the signatary *to* a forged document.' Others take 'falso' as an adverb: but the instances of an adverb following a substantive are rare, though see Nägelsbach, L. Stil. § 75. Some editors have adopted Markland's conjecture 'signator falsi.'

68. The will was short; the whole property was transferred to him; the wetting of the **gemma** or seal seems to refer to some facility for opening the will to see if the provisions were satisfactory: at least the lines of Ovid, Am. ii. 15, seem to speak of a 'gemma sicca' as 'tenax.'

We have adopted *fecerit*, with Ribbeck and Beer. It has good MS. authority, and is certainly more elegant, more natural, and more in Juvenal's style than 'fecerat.' Beer points out that the scribe who wrote the Pithoean Codex is not unfrequently guilty of writing a vowel wrong from his eye catching the same vowel in a preceding or following word.

69. **occurrit**, 'there meets you.'

70. **viro sitiente**; abl. abs. There seems no reason to suppose with W. that *viro* is the dative and that *eo* is to be supplied with *sitiente*.

rubetam is poison procured from the bramble frog (from 'rubus'), supposed to be very poisonous. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xxv. 76.

71. An improved **Lucusta.** Lucusta was a Gallic woman suborned by Nero to poison Britannicus and by Agrippina to poison Claudius. Cf. Tac. Ann. xii. 66 and xiii. 15, and especially Suet. Nero 33.

72. **per famam et populum**: probably a hendiadys 'through all the talking mob.'

efferre, the regular word for 'to carry out a corpse for burial.' Cf. 'effert uxores Fabius, Chrestilla maritos' Mart. viii. 43.

73. **Gyaros**, or Gyara, a small barren island between Andros and Ceos, the Botany Bay of Rome: see Tacitus, Ann. iv. 30: much used under the empire as a place for deported criminals. The elision of the long vowel in **aude** is unusual, though not unparalleled. Cf. Sat. xiv. 76.

74. **si vis esse aliquid.** Another reading is 'aliquis:' but 'aliquid' seems the more pointed. Cf. Plat. Apol. 41 e *ἐὰν δοκῶσί τι εἶναι μηδὲν ὄντες*: for the reading 'aliquis' which Lewis adopts, he appositely quotes Theoc. xi. 79 *κἠγώ τις φαίνομαι ἦμεν.*

75. **criminibus** here means 'crimes,' commonly 'accusations.' Ovid's use of 'sine crimine coniux' marks the transition of meaning.

hortos, such as those of Caesar, and those of Maecenas. Mayor has an exhaustive note on the gardens of the rich Roman nobles.

praetoria, properly the general's tent: then an emperor's palace, the princeps being the regular imperator: then the large country house of any rich man.

mensas. Their costly tables of citrus wood, made of sections of the whole tree. See Hehn, Culturpflanzen und Hausthiere p. 361.

76. 'Their old silver plate and the goblet with the goat in high relief.' Cf. Preller, Gr. Myth. i. 561.

79. The idea resembles that in Dryden's 'Religio Laici:'—

'For while from sacred truth I do not swerve,
Tom Sternhold's or Tom Shadwell's rhymes will serve.'

80. **Cluvienus**, some unknown second-rate poet of the day.

81. **ex quo**, from the time that, *ἐξ οὗ*.

The story of **Deucalion** is told at length by Ovid, Met. i. 260 sqq.

81–146. The present condition of society compels one even against one's will to write Satire. Vice has never been so general or so shameless. We worship the goddess Money, in fact, even though we have as yet not formally deified her.

82. **navigio**, *climbed* the mountain in his vessel; a touch of irony, as Mayor remarks.

sortes poposcit means 'asked for the oracles;' these were pieces of wood with verses on them, which were first shuffled and then drawn.

It seems probable that the myth of **Deucalion** and **Pyrrha** arose from a misunderstanding of the word *πύρρα*, 'the red earth,' and a confusion between *λαός* and *λᾶας*, see Max Müller, Chips vol. ii. p. 12. Cf. Pindar, Ol. ix. 42 *Διὸς αἴσᾳ Πύρρα Δευκαλίων τε Παρνασσοῦ καταβάντε δόμον ἔθεντο πρῶτον, ἄτερ δ' εὐνᾶς δμόδαμνον κτησάσθαν λίθινον γόνον.*

83. **caluerunt mollia.** 'Mollia' is proleptic; 'warmed into softness.' The whole description is modelled on Ovid, Met. i.

86. **discursus**, their 'restless aims,' their 'eager fussiness' to gain honour and money; the word in this sense is peculiar to the silver age of Latinity. Cf. Sen. de Brev. Vit. 3 'officiosa per urbem discursatio.'

farrago, 'hotch-potch,' properly of spelt (far); the word is used with reference to the meaning of 'satura.'

88. **sinus**. Usually taken as the fold of the toga which formed a pocket for the purse; thus Avarice is represented as opening wide her purse for more. Others have taken it of 'a sail.' It seems more probable that the word is here used in the sense of 'an abyss.' Weidner appositely quotes Sen. Oed. 595 'subito dehiscit terra et immenso sinu laxata patuit.'

89. **hos animos** (i. e. habuit). The omission of the verb is usual in the conversational style; cf. Sen. Troad. 348 '*Agam.* Hos Scyrus animos? *Pyrrh.* Scelere quae fratrum caret.' 'Animos' = 'spirits,' 'life.'

enim simply strengthens 'neque,' 'nor indeed.' In common with 'nam' and 'nempe,' it seems to be connected with the root 'gnā,' found in 'gna-rus;' and its original signification must have been 'you must know,' 'to wit.'

loculis, 'a small bag or satchel,' here used for 'a purse.'

90. **arca** is 'the money-chest.'

91. The **dispensator**, or 'house-steward,' who keeps his accounts, serves as his 'squire' in the battle of the gaming table, and finds him the weapons, i. e. the money. Cf. Becker, Gallus ii. 118.

92. **simplexne furor**. 'Is it a common, every-day madness?' The phrase puts us in mind of 'insanire putas communia,' etc.; Horace, Ep. i. 1. 101.

93. **reddere** implies that the tunic was the slave's *due*; 'reddere' means to give that which you are for some reason expected or bound to give, Orell. ad Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 216; cf. the expression 'reddere iura.'

94. **fercula**. We may render this word 'courses;' it means properly trays fitted on to the top of the table, which was let down after each course by a trap-door and refilled. **septem**. Augustus (Suet. Vit. Aug. 74) contented himself with three; when he had guests he sometimes allowed himself six: 'he devours seven courses, and all alone.' Cf. line 140 'Quanta est gula quae sibi totos Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum.'

95. **sportula**. The 'dole basket' was a 'survival' of the old times, when the patron would treat his clients to a 'cœna recta;' it was a basket filled with cold meat and such viands, distributed at the early morning salutatio by the 'servus nomenclator:' this was afterwards changed into a fixed allowance of money.

96. **togatae** is explained by the necessity of appearing at the ceremony in the toga. It was hot and uncomfortable ,and ill-suited for such a scramble. At the same time the word is ironical. Rome's citizens in their proud garb of citizenship let themselves down to this abasement.

97. **ille**, the master.

100. **ipsos Troiugenas**. The very blue blood of Troy: the older *Roman families* claimed descent from the Trojans, as the gens Iulia

from Iulus. It must not be forgotten that the aim of Vergil's Aeneid was to teach the Romans that destiny had made the Romans the successful rivals of the Greeks, and that in the success of the Romans the Trojans had their revenge.

101. Here Juvenal classes himself at least with the poorer classes if not with the freedmen of Rome. Cf. Sat. iii. 187 and Mart. xii. 18: from which passages we gather that Juvenal was a 'cliens' in the later sense of the word, i. e. a dependent upon great houses. See p. xii and the note on 'clientela.'

da praetori. So that even men in office did not deem it beneath them to receive the dole. Cf. Mart. ii. 18.

104. The best Romans held all Orientals in contempt. Weidner quotes Cic. Prov. Cons. 10 'Iudaeis et Syris, nationibus natis servituti.' The earrings, much worn by Orientals even at the present day, were a sign of effeminacy (molles).

105. Heinrich, followed by Weidner, thinks that by **quinque tabernae** are meant not five retail shops which he rents, but *the* five 'tabernae' or places of exchange mentioned by Livy xxvi. 27. 2 'Eodem tempore (210 B.C.) septem tabernae, quae postea quinque, et argentariae, quae nunc novae appellantur, arsere;' xxvii. 11. 16 'locaverunt inde reficienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta sunt, septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.' In any case the freedman means 'but my banking transactions bring me in the magic 400,000 sesterces,' the knight's income.

106. **purpura maior**, i. e. the laticlave or insignia of the senators; the meaning is 'I would rather have the income than the trappings.'

107. **Laurentum**, the modern Torre di Paterno, described by Pliny, ii. 17. 13, as a good fattening ground for sheep in winter.

108. For the decadence of the **Corvini**, who claimed descent from the illustrious 'gens Valeria,' see Tac. xiii. 34.

conductas custodit oves, 'shepherds sheep for hire.'

109. **Pallas.** Claudius' notorious freedman, whose wealth is spoken of by Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. § 134. He was a brother of the Felix mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

Licinus, a Gaul, a wealthy freedman of Augustus; the *Licini* are spoken of as types of a class.

110. **honori**, 'magistrate,' 'holder of an office.'

111. Slaves for sale were exposed on a 'catasta' and their feet marked with chalk. Some have sought the origin of this custom in an attempt to render it easier for them to be tracked in the event of their running away. Cf. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 17. 58 (§ 199) and Tibull. ii. 2. 59.

113. This line seems a reminiscence of Horace, Ep. i. 6. 36.

115. On the Roman worship of abstract divinities see Marq. iv. 22 and Boissier, La Religion romaine i. p. 10.

116. This must refer to some circumstance that we are not aware of: a stork must have built its nest on the temple of Concord: the worshippers salute the temple, and **Concordia**, who is identified with the

stork, greets them back. A stork's nest built on a house is at the present day in Germany regarded as a sign of luck for the house. The idea seems to be: 'The most faithful attendants on the temple of Concordia are—not worshippers, but storks; and Concordia acknowledges their greeting by clattering back.' The language of Ovid, Met. vi. 97, seems to have been in the poet's mind, 'Ipsa sibi plaudat crepitante ciconia rostro.'

117. If a consul will let himself down to calculating how much a year he makes by the dole, we cannot be surprised at the clients condescending to petty tricks to secure the dole on which they and their families depend for sustenance! for the fact see Mart. xii. 26, also xi. 18, and x. 10 (quoted by Lewis).

118. **rationibus**, 'his income;' strictly speaking, 'his accounts.'

119. **comites**, the poorer clients, the retinue of the wealthy man.

120. **densissima lectica**, 'litters in throngs:' a collective use of the singular, as in 'plurima mortis imago,' and 'frequens redemptor,' Hor.

124. It would be natural for the palanquin to be closely curtained if it conveyed ladies.

126. **profer, Galla, caput.** Probably Galla's husband speaks all that is spoken. He says to the slave who is dispensing the dole, pointing to the closed palanquin, ''Tis my wife: send us off: What? you would not keep us!' Then as the slave, knowing the trick, hesitates, the beggar adds, 'Galla, put out your head! Oh, don't disturb her, she must be napping!'

127. The course of the whole day is unnatural and degrading alike to patron and client. For the course of events in a Roman day see Mart. iv. 8. 1 sqq.

128. Pliny, N. H. vii. 53 (§ 183), tells us about 'Apollo eboreus qui est in foro Augusti:' this must be the statue spoken of here: the forum Augusti lay to the N.E. of the forum Romanum; it was connected with a temple erected to Mars Ultor, which was dedicated B. C. 2. On the question of the topography of the forum Augusti see Burn, Rome and the Campagna p. 92 'The only space left in the eighth region within which the forum of Augustus can be supposed to have been contained, is that bounded by the Via della Croce Bianca, the Via del Priovato, and the Via di Tor di Conti.' Apollo is spoken of as becoming perforce an astute lawyer from hearing so many law-suits.

129. **triumphales**, at the rostra, near which great men had their statues erected. Suet. Aug. 31 'statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit.'

130. **Arabarches**; properly a customs' collector in Egypt. Juvenal employs it merely in a contemptuous sense, as we might use the word 'Nabob' for a rich parvenu of Eastern extraction. The word Alabarches is said to be derived from ἀλάβα, 'ink,' and to signify 'scripturae magister;' it appears as a variant for Arabarches. In Cicero, Ep. ad Att. ii. 18, Cicero calls Pompeius 'Alabarches' in allusion to his repeated boasts *that he had raised* the revenues of Rome; see Billerbeck vol. i. ep. 44.

As a matter of fact there was one Tiberius Julius Alexander, son of the Arabarch Alexander Lysimachus, an Egyptian Jew, who abjured his religion, and became successively a Roman 'eques,' procurator of Judaea, and finally Praefectus Aegyptiae. Titus gave the renegade a high command against the Jews.

133. After wandering about all day, the poor clients, tired and hungry, come back and hope to get a meal; but have to give up praying even for this; they have to go off and buy with the dole their kail and fuel.

136. This use of **rex** for a 'great man' or 'patron' is common.

tantum ipse, cf. Cic. in L. Calp. Pisonem 67 'Graeci stipati, quini in lectis, saepe plures, ipse solus.' Everything in the house is arranged for guests, but the couches remain empty, and the master sits down alone; for the picture of a glutton who has lost his appetite cf. Churchill's poem 'The Times,' and his picture of Apicius.

137, 138. These lines are rejected by Ribbeck; but the meaning seems plain. The **orbes** are the round tables of the expensive citrus (cp. Hehn p. 361), supported by a single foot, itself often of ivory. The 'orbes' were often masterpieces of antique art, and thus their antiquity gave them additional value. Juvenal complains that though so many costly tables are in the rich man's palace, pointing to the duties of hospitality, yet he devours whole patrimonies at a single one.

139. 'The race of parasites will soon be extinct,' so Juvenal makes the rich man say; much as we might make a rich man console himself for never giving alms, with the idea that he will at least not be a party to the multiplication of beggars.

140. **luxuriae sordes**. An oxymoron. 'Such meanness in luxury.' Cp. Plin. Ep. ii. 6. 7 'Igitur memento nihil magis esse vitandum quam istam luxuriae et sordium novam societatem.'

141. Cf. Varro, R. R. ii. 4. 10 'Suillum pecus donatum a natura dicunt ad epulandum;' so that he means a wild boar is proverbially a dish for a party.

142. But the punishment follows close on the offence: both the fact of eating alone and of eating too much gives you indigestion.

143. **crudum**, 'undigested.' Weidner, following the Pith., reads 'crudus,' i. e. you suffering from indigestion. Lewis calls attention to Martial's pun on this double sense of the word, iii. 13 'Accusas rumpisque coquum tanquam omnia *cruda* Attulerit: nunquam sic ego *crudus* ero;' i. e. I shall never become a dyspeptic thus.

pavonem. Varro, De Re Rust. iii. 6. 6, tell us that the orator Hortensius was the first who served up roasted peacocks, and this was on the occasion of his election as augur. Cicero remarks on his own audacity in giving Hirtius a dinner without peacock (Ad Fam. ix. 20. 3); cf. also Plin. Nat. Hist. x. 23, 24.

144. i.e. hence so many old men leave no wills: they die so suddenly that they have no time to make them. Men put off making their will' as long as they could to secure all the favours they could from captatoress

or legacy hunters; cf. Hor. Satires ii. 5. 57 and Catull. lxvii. This explains **iratis**, as they would not, as mere friends, take the legacy unless their names were expressly mentioned in the will. The 'friends' are angry because they have no legacy, but rejoice when they see his funeral.

147. The beginning of the Epilogue of the Satire seems suggested by Horace, Od. iii. 6. 45 'Damnosa quid non imminuit dies? Aetas parentum peior avis tulit Nos nequiores, mox daturos Progeniem vitiosiorem.' Now we have arrived at the 'vitiosissima progenies' and things will always remain as they are.

149. **in praecipiti stetit**, 'has reached its climax.' **utere velis**, i.e. 'there is plenty of wind to make one soar into poetry; one has merely to spread one's sail, and the very air which reeks of vice will waft one on.'

150. 'Yes, you will say there is so much matter, that it needs a genius to put it into shape, and where shall he be found?' **dices** is the reading of P, and seems quite in Juvenal's style. Cf. viii. 163 'defensor culpae dicet mihi.'

151. There is a hiatus after **materiae**; cf. ii. 26, etc.

152. Domitian suppressed criticism; cf. Tac. Agr. iii. and Hist. i. 1.

153. **cuius non audeo**, etc., and the next line are commonly taken as the words of Lucilius 'which,' says Juvenal, 'none would dare to use at the present day.' Persius, i. 114, expressly tells us that Lucilius satirised P. Mucius Scaevola (Consul A.U.C. 621). It seems far more natural to suppose **simplicitas** to be satirically substituted for 'libertas,' 'whose real name,' says Juvenal, 'I dare not mention.' The words 'cuius non audeo dicere nomen' will then be a quotation from Lucilius to suit Juvenal's particular mode of expression in this passage; though 'audeo' can hardly be the word used by Lucilius in this connection, as the 'o' final would have been invariably long in his age.

155. 'But portray **Tigellinus** and you will be burnt alive, as they were in Nero's time.' For Tigellinus, Nero's notorious favourite, Tac. Ann. xiv. 41 sqq.

pone . . . lucebis, a not uncommon mode of expressing 'si ponis lucebis;' in silver Latinity we sometimes find *et* before the future or present; cp. Sat. vi. 67 'Vivat Fidenis et agello cedo paterno.'

156. 'You will burn amid the pine faggots in which the poor wretches stand and burn with a stake under their chin: the pine faggots which mark the furrow in the sand.' This is the reading adopted by Mayor. To get this meaning out of the words we must understand 'et quae taeda' from the 'qua' of 156, the relative being here, as not uncommonly, supplied from a preceding clause, where it occurs in a different case: he quotes Cic. Verr. iv. § 9 'Mancipium . . . quo et omnes utimur et non praebetur a populo.' The 'taeda' then, to which the victims are attached for burning, marks the centre of a long furrow. Beer, Spicilegium p. 36, says that P reads 'deducit.'

On the other hand, Jahn, followed by most editors, reads 'deducis;' '*you* mark, i.e. you will be made to mark, a furrow, as your body si

dragged off to execution through the arena.' The obvious difficulty in the last mentioned interpretation is the abrupt change in the description of the punishment.

It seems that it might be possible to retain *deducis* (the MSS. are divided) and still to understand 'harena' of the spot where the martyrs were burnt; 'and you have to mark the broad furrow in midst of the sandy tract,' i. e. you will have to stand as a living 'fax,' in the line which runs down straight as a furrow. For a description of the tortures applied to the Christians under Nero see Renan's 'Hibbert Lectures.'

158. The transition in thought is—'What? is a poisoner to ride about in state, and am I to be burnt alive for speaking my mind?' 'Ay, if you meet one of the powerful criminals, don't even say "that's he!"'

159. **pensilibus plumis**, 'on his feather-stuffed palanquin.' The Germans exported feathers to Rome, as we know from Pliny, N. H. x. 27 'Eoque processere deliciae ut sine hoc instrumento durare iam ne virorum quoque cervices possint,' and hence took the Roman name 'pluma,' which they converted into 'Flaum.' The whole passage is most interesting. See Kluge, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache p. 19.

161. i. e. 'accusator erit ei qui dixerit,' etc.

P reads **versum**, which has been interpreted as 'who had even alluded to him in his poetry without mentioning his name.' Others read 'versus'='turned away,' 'speaking aside.'

162. 'Write on trite epic themes as much as you will; match Aeneas and Turnus; kill Achilles as often as you will, let Hylas get lost as often as you will, but beware of copying Lucilius.'

165. **ense velut stricto**. A common Roman simile; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 39. 'He blushes when Lucilius arraigns him, for conscience makes him a coward.'

168. **inde irae**, a reminiscence of Ter. Andria i. 1. 99 'hinc illae lacrumae.'

169. Weidner, supported by good MSS. authority, reads 'anime,' comparing the Homeric *τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη*; but **animo** seems more natural.

ante tubas, i. e. 'antequam tuba ad pugnam canat,' a proverbial expression. See Conington's note to Verg. Aen. xi. 424.

galeatum. The Roman soldiers on the march carried their helmets round their neck; and thus they are represented on Trajan's column. Caesar tells us, B. G. ii. 21, that his soldiers were attacked before they had time to put their helmets on; and again, Bell. Afr. 12, he orders his soldiers 'galeari' on catching sight of the enemy.

duellum, archaic form of 'bellum;' as 'duonus' of 'bonus:' showing that etymologically 'bellum' meant 'a duel.'

170. 'I will try then what licence is allowed me in attacking the dead, whose tombs line the great thoroughfares leading out of Rome.'

SATIRE III.

ON THE VICES AND DANGERS OF CITY LIFE.

THE third Satire appears by internal evidence to be a conversation in which the poet himself, designated as Umbricius and assumed to be emigrating from Rome to Cumae, lectures the other Juvenal, who was still lingering in the metropolis and canvassing wealthy patrons that he might get promotion. If this view is correct, Juvenal was just passing middle age, somewhere between forty-five and fifty-five, when he wrote it; and this agrees with the reference to Veiento as powerful, which he was as late as Nerva's reign, 96–98; with the passage in Martial (xii. 18), which represents Juvenal as patron-hunting, and with his own description of 'white hairs just coming,' 'old age in its first approaches and unbent.' No decisive event is mentioned by which we can fix its date, though the words 'siccandam illuviem,' in line 32, have been thought to refer to the attempt made by the Emperor Trajan to drain the Pomptine Marshes. It is noticeable that this is one of the Satires which contain a complaint about the poor reward of military service. That Juvenal really left Rome at this time is unlikely. He was just as unable to live long away from the Subura as Madame de Stael to endure prolonged absence from the Rue de Bac; but he may have meditated withdrawal, and have bought his farm at Tivoli about this time. Powerful as the poem is, it is the work of one who wishes to convince himself rather than of one who is convinced; it displays no real sympathy with country life, and only points the moral that you ought to be a rich man in order to enjoy Rome. Dr. Johnson, who translated this poem, and who could not live happily at a distance from Charing Cross, might have said the same of London.

The construction of the poem is perfect. The argument turns on two simple propositions; that an honest man cannot make a fortune at Rome, and that a poor man cannot live there safely or happily. Juvenal is in fact apologising for his own failure, and trying to show that after all he is a gainer by it.

Umbricius, walking on foot after the van which carries out all his worldly goods, stops at the spring in the valley of Egeria to take leave of his other self, Juvenal, who has accompanied him thus far, and who cannot make up his mind to leave Rome, ll. 1–20. Umbricius explains that he is only eating into his capital by staying on in Rome, and that it is a place where no honest man, no one who is not a flatterer, a liar, a pimp, or the confidant of a guilty secret, can hope to thrive, ll. 21–56. The real man to succeed in Rome is the Greek of Asia Minor, uniting Hellenic talent with Oriental superstition and servility, ll. 57–108. These men debauch the women and boys and betray the men of every household they enter; and it is part of their system to

isolate the noble by driving his family retainers away, ll. 109–125. Ay, and let the poor man ask himself if he is of any real account to the noble who cares only for inheritances and whose pleasures are all costly, ll. 126–136. Nothing but wealth is now valued in Rome. The poor man is laughed at and thrust up into the worst seats in the amphitheatre. It is the rich man, who can marry wealth, and to whom money is left, who can sit in the municipal council. Nowhere is money more necessary for getting on than in Rome, ll. 137–170. Contrast life in the country where the best dress is kept for the burial, and where a white tunic is the distinction of the highest magistrate, with the fopperies of dress and costly presents that the struggling man at Rome has to pay for with borrowed money, ll. 171–189.

Then again contrast the safety of life in a cottage with the dangers of a garret. The first floor may be in flames before the lodger under the roof knows of it; and when he escapes, burnt out and ruined, no friend comes to his aid; while the rich man is loaded with gifts from condoling friends, who either need his patronage or expect a legacy, ll. 190–231. It takes wealth to shut out the sounds of city life, ll. 232–238. The rich man is borne in his litter through the streets; the poor man has to elbow his way, and may be crushed out of recognition by a stone falling from a wain, while his household are preparing his food, ll. 239–267. The night has its own dangers; the slops and crockery thrown out of windows, the drunken rioters who stop the passer-by and pick a quarrel with him, the burglar and the assassin, ll. 268–314. Juvenal must ask his friend to visit him at Aquinum, when he goes there for a 'villeggiatura,' ll. 315–322.

The friends then part; Umbricius going off with the waggon containing his furniture on his way to Cumae, and promising to visit Juvenal at Aquinum.

This Satire was probably written about the same time as the first and second, most likely during Trajan's reign somewhere between 101 and 115 A.D.

Dryden translated this Satire, and Boileau imitated it in two poems, each of which deals with half of Juvenal's theme. Johnson has copied it in his 'London.' Oldham has a close imitation of it, and it is translated into hendecasyllabic verse by Metastasio.

1. **quamvis**. Taken closely with **confusus**, 'however much distressed.' Oldham has

'Though much concerned to lose my dear old friend.'

confundo has in Pliny and Juvenal a weaker meaning than it bore in Vergil's time. Weidner refers to Plin. Paneg. 86 'Quam ego audio confusionem tuam fuisse, cum digredientem prosequereris.' Words like 'affliction' and 'contrite' have suffered a similar change, as has 'attonitus' in Latin.

digressu, 'the parting *from* my old friend;' cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 482 'Nec minus Andromache digressu maesta supremo.'

2. **laudo**, like *μακαρίζω*, 'I congratulate him.' Cf. Sil. iv. 260 'Laudabat leti iuvenem,' 'he called the young man happy in respect of his death.'

vacuis, 'empty,' and so 'quiet.' Cf. 'mihi vacuum Tibur placet' Hor. Ep. i. 7. 45. The contrast is with the noise of Rome.

Cumis. The original Cumaean Sibyl was Deiphobe, daughter of Glaucus, who lived in a grotto near Cumae. From her Tarquin procured the three Sibylline books, which were preserved in the Capitol till the time of Sulla, when they perished in a fire.

3. **destinet**, 'he intends;' from the root *sta*, whence seems to have been formed a participial stem sta-no; and hence a verb 'stanare,' to 'fix' or 'settle;' whence 'destinare,' 'to propose' or 'have a fixed intention.' In Russian 'stany' is used for 'I intend,' or 'will;' cf. also the use of 'sto' in Italian in 'sto per fare.'

4. **ianua**, 'the approach' to Baiae from Rome. For this use of ianua cf. Cic. Planc. iii. 8 'Qua nolui ianua sum ingressus in caussam.' Domitian carried a branch of the Via Appia to meet at this point the Baiae road. For **Baiae** see Becker's Gallus, Scene 7.

litus, to be taken closely with 'amoeni secessus,' which is a genitive of quality, specially common in Low Latin, and adopted thence by classical writers: ''Tis a pleasant shore of sweet retirement.' The genitive of quality or attributive genitive marks the whole or main characteristic of that which it qualifies: the ablative marks merely an accidental attribute. Thus 'vir magnae prudentiae' would signify a man in whose character prudence is the main feature. 'Vir magna prudentia,' a man, as we say, of prudence. The genitive of quality is really adjectival; thus 'fallax herba veneni' Verg. Ec. iv. 24 may be expressed by 'a poisonous herb.'

5. **Prochytam**. Procida, a sterile volcanic island off the Campanian coast. The **Subura** lay at the back of the Argiletum, and seems to have extended across the valley between the Esquiline and the Quirinal. Cf. Burn, Rome and the Campagna p. 80. It was the noisiest and most immoral part of Rome. Cf. Martial xii. 18. 1, 2

'Dum tu forsitan inquietus erras
Clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura.'

6. 'For any abode, however comfortless or solitary, is better than this constant fear of fires.' Our idiom would be to say 'that you would not think it better than the dread of fire.' The Latin idiom is to say 'that you would not think the dread of fires worse.'

7. Fires were very common at Rome, owing to the amount of wood used in the construction of the houses; and these were raised to a great height, as land was very dear.

9. **Augusto**. The recitations, trying at any time, were in the hottest and unhealthiest month intolerable. For these recitations see Pliny, Ep. i. 13 and Hor. Sat. i. 5. 1.

10. **sed dum**. 'But while all his household was being packed away

in a single waggon.' 'Dum' is an old accusative='diem' (see Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft p. 346). Its development of meaning may be paralleled by that of *while*, from A. S. *hwil*, 'a time.' The Latin construction in cases of contemporaneous action places the verb following *dum* in the present indicative. Cf. v. 94. Cf. Ennius, Ann. 391 'Missaque per pectus dum transit, striderat hasta.' Simcox refers to xiv. 94, 95

'Totam hanc turbavit filius amens
Dum meliore novas attollit marmore villas.'

componere is the regular word for 'to pack up.' Pliny, Ep. v. 18 'se in villa componere.' Carriages were not allowed in the Roman streets, and so had to wait outside the gates. The **reda** was a large four-wheeled carriage. See Mart. iii. 47. 5.

11. **madidam.** A branch of the 'Aqua Martia' passed over it. The site of the Porta Capena was doubtful until the discovery of the ancient 'Columna Milliaria' or original Roman milestone indicating the first mile from the walls of Servius Tullius on the Appian Way. This columna is now on the balustrade of the northern entrance of the Piazza Campidoglio.

12. Weidner seems successfully to defend the order of lines in the text as against O. Jahn, who places 17–20 before 12–15, and supposes a lacuna after l. 11. Jahn states that the rendezvous of Numa with his nymph was not at the Porta Capena but in the valley of Egeria. But he and Ribbeck assume that the valley of Egeria was that which is now pointed out by ciceroni as such, viz. in the Caffarella valley, outside the Porta S. Sebastiano. Burn points out that Canina and others have correctly shown that the true valley of Egeria is the depression between the Monte d' Oro and the Caelian proper and close to the Porta Capena. In it was 'the Lucus Camenarum,' where Juvenal represents Numa's trysting place to have been.

constituebat, 'made assignations:' the verb is used with the dative; more commonly 'constituere cum aliquo.'

amica, contemptuous. One of Juvenal's most marked traits is his constant habit of sneering at the popular idea of the national religions of Rome, and especially of Greece. Cf. xiii. 40.

14. 'The groves and shrines are let out to Jews, whose whole stock in trade is a hamper (possibly for collecting scraps and rags like the 'hotte' of the Parisian 'chiffonnier'), and a bundle of hay for a bed.' The **cophinus** and **fenum** are noticed again, Sat. vi. 542, as characteristic of the Jews. This people was very numerous in Rome even before the Empire. Then, as now, their predominant business was trade. They and the Christians were alike hated on the ground that they would not, like the other Oriental nations, admit of any compromise with other religions. Pliny, N. H. xiii. 4 (9) speaks of 'Iudaea gens contumelia numinum insignis.' The Jews were expelled from Rome by Domitian; they are here represented as renting this valley. The Muses are ejected, and every tree in the sacred wood has turned beggar.

16. **Camenis.** Camena = Casmena (connected with 'carmen') is the

old native Latin muse as contrasted with the Greek Musa. For the popularity of strange religions in Rome, see Boissier, La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins vol. i. p. 380.

17. **speluncas,** 'artificial grottoes.' The stream was artificially banked with slabs of marble. 'How far more real would seem the spirit of the stream, if the water were enclosed by a green grass bank, and no marble desecrated the natural tufa.'

23. **here,** commonly 'heri.' The form 'here' is found in Plautus, but does not become common until the Silver age. Quint. i. 4. § 8 'In here neque e plane neque i auditur.' Cf. also id. 1. 7. § 22. 'And still this will to-morrow wear away some trifle from its scant remainder.'

25. **Daedalus.** It was at Cumae that he descended again to earth and built the temple of Apollo. Cf. Verg. Aen. vi. 17, where Cumae is called 'Chalcidica' as being a colony from Chalcis in Euboea. Here, as often, Juvenal describes the place by a literary association.

26. **recta,** 'upright,' in contradistinction to 'curva senectus.'

28. **bacillo,** diminutive. 'A shaky stick to support a shaky frame.'

30. **nigrum in candida** seems to have been a proverbial expression. Cf. Ovid, Met. xi. 343.

vertunt. The indicative mood shows that there are particular persons who actually do this.

31. 'Who feel it a light thing to take contracts for building temples, damming rivers, dredging harbours, emptying the cloacae, and conducting funerals. Rome is the paradise of unscrupulous contractors.' Under the empire, public buildings were in the charge of 'curatores' who were said 'locare' contracts. Funerals were commonly undertaken by contract; they were sometimes contracted for by the family, sometimes by the State (funus publicum). See Marq. vol. vi. p. 340. The 'libitinarii' at the temple of Libitina provided not merely the workmen necessary to carry out the funeral, but all the appliances as well, such as torches, cars, etc. A register of deaths was kept in this temple from the time of Servius Tullius.

33. 'And to risk the sale of their persons under the power of the "hasta" set up in the court of the Centumviri.' **praebere caput venale** is to suffer 'capitis deminutionem maximam.' The 'hasta' was set up in court on the occasion of contracts being entered into for farming State property. Cf. Weissenborn on Liv. xxiv. 18. 10. This signified that whoever entered into a contract with the state, pledged his fortune that the contract should, on his side, be fairly carried out: should he fail, the state had the power to distrain on his goods, and sell them 'sub hasta.' If the contractor was fraudulent, he managed to set aside the greater portion of his fortune, so that very little remained for the state auction at his expense. The defaulter was declared 'infamis.' The 'hasta' is called 'domina,' inasmuch as it confers 'dominium' over the 'caput.' So Weidner, following the Scholiast: and this seems to be the true explanation. Others take 'caput' of a slave, so that the meaning would be 'and become slavedealers.'

34. 'These men, now millionaires, once wound a horn at shows in country towns, and were known as "puff-cheeks:" they now exhibit shows on their own account, and for popularity's sake they butcher the man whom the mob bids by turning up its thumbs.' **buccae** seems to be the nickname they got in the municipia. If a gladiator was wounded so that he could fight no longer, he and his assailant appealed to the spectators. If they wished his death, they turned their thumbs towards their breasts (pollicem convertere) and cried 'ferrum recipe.' If they wished that he should go free, they turned their thumbs down (pollicem premere) and cried 'mitte.' The *editor* had to decide whether the contents or the non-contents had the majority: if he decided for the gladiator's death, he carried out the popular will. 'Bucca' may be noticed as one of the many Low Latin words which have become the classical words in modern French. It is the origin of 'bouche.' Such words are used in lighter style by classical authors. Cf. Cic. Att. i. 12. 4 'quod in buccam venerit scribito.' Montaigne quotes line 36 in his essay 'on Thumbs.'

37. 'Then, after being masters of these shows, they come back, and are not too proud to farm the public jakes; and why shouldn't they farm everything, anything is sure to make their fortunes, for they are Fortune's darlings?' 'Der Gedanke ist matt,' says Weidner, and proposes to read with the Codex P 'poricas' for 'porcas,' 'et cur non omina,' i. e. 'and why shouldn't they contract for omens as well as for sacrificial swine, for Fortune would do it for them?' But the thought seems clear and natural as explained above: 'They are Fortune's darlings, and may be expected to shift and change even as their mistress.' The reading 'poricas' seems to be due to the scribe catching sight of 'populariter' in l. 37.

42. **laudare**, after hearing it at a public recitation.

poscere, 'to ask' its loan for perusal.

motus, i. e. I am no Chaldaeus or Mathematicus.

44. 'I am no aruspex.'

45. **quae mittit**, 'her presents.'

46. **quae mandat**, 'her message.'

47. 'I am honest, and *therefore* unfit to be one of the "cohors" of a provincial governor;' the members of which were called his 'comites.' Catullus thought it a shame that a governor's 'comes' should return with his 'sacculus plenus aranearum' xiii. 8.

48. 'My honesty cripples me, and makes me like a body with its right hand maimed.' **exstincta dextra** is the ablative of quality. Some editors read 'exstinctae dextrae.' The difference between the genitive and ablative of quality has been explained above l. 4.

49. **conscius**, absolutely 'a confidant,' in a bad sense: one privy to some intrigue. Cf. Mart. vi. 50 'Vis fieri dives, Bithynice, conscius esto.'

50. **aestuat** would, in classical Latin, be in the conj., as the poet is speaking generally of one of a class.

cui seems used as a dissyllable.

52. **secretum**, a participle used substantively, and joined with an adjective. Cf. Sat. x. 107 where we have an adjective used substantively and joined with an adjective.

53. A **Verres**, the type of peculators on a gigantic scale. Juvenal carries out his intention of trying 'quid concedatur in illos Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina' i. 171.

54. '*But* let not Tagus and all the sand that clouds it, nor all the gold it rolls seawards, tempt you to think it worth your while to forfeit sleep.'

tanti. The genitive of price is really a development of the attributive genitive. 'Homo nullius pretii' was the origin of other analogical formations, such as 'non magni est pretii,' and then 'hunc nullius pretii or nihili or non nauci habeo.' See Holz and Schmalz in Müller's Handbuch der klassichen Altertums-Wissenschaft p. 271. Montaigne, chap. xvii, quotes these lines, 'I am of a humour, that, life and health excepted, there is nothing for which I will beat my brains at the price of vexation and constraint.'

56. **ponenda** for 'deponenda,' 'which you must lay down again to your sorrow.'

57. 'And be the standing terror of your friend in power.' Cf. Velleius ii. 127 'Ti. Caesar Seianum Aelium, principe equestris ordinis patre natum, materno vero genere clarissimas veteresque et insignes honoribus complexum familias, habentem consulares fratres, consobrinos, avunculum, ipsum vero laboris ac fidei capacissimum, sufficiente etiam vigori animi compage corporis, singularem principalium operum adiutorem in omnia habuit atque habet: virum severitatis laetissimae, hilaritatis priscae, actu otiosis simillimum, nihil sibi vindicantem eoque adsequentem omnia, semperque infra aliorum aestimationes se metientem, vultu vitaque tranquillum, *animo exsomnem*.'

58. Rome is rendered intolerable by foreigners, especially by Greeks.

60. **pudor** expresses the virtue of civic moderation, or respect for the feelings of one's fellow-citizens. Its converse is 'petulantia.' Cf. Cic. Cat. ii. 11. 25; Enn. ap. Non. 160. 5.

Quirites. The word that appealed to the heart of every Roman, reminding him of his privileges as a full burgess; in sharp contrast to *Graecam*.

61. **urbs**, the word especially applied to Rome: thus he means, 'I cannot stand the Rome so dear to Romans turning Greek.' Cf. Verg. Ec. i. 20 'Urbem, quam dicunt Romam.'

quamvis in classical Latin would be 'quamquam:' **portio** would be 'pars.' 'Though when I say "turning Greek," how few of these *canaille* really come from Achaia,' the Roman name for the province of Greece. Seneca, Dial. xii. 6. 2, gives a similar picture of the Grecising of Rome.

62. 'The scum of Syria which has tided into the Tiber from the Orontes' consisted of 'psaltriae' and 'sambucistriae,' 'ambubaiae' or 'crotalistriae.' Their ordinary instrument was the *sambuca*, a kind of three-cornered harp with oblique strings. It will be remembered that

Vergil's 'copa' was 'Syrisca.' Rome was also being flooded with foreign slaves, many of whom were afterwards manumitted.

65. **iussas**, i.e. by the 'leno' or 'impresario' who engaged them to play at banquets or in the 'cauponae,' as also to serve viler purposes.

67. **rusticus** means 'that very son of the country, your pride and strength;' cf. ii. 74 'illud montanum vulgus.'

τρεχέδειπνος is properly the nickname of a parasite, here apparently applied to some dinner garment or dress-shoes for dining out, as we might speak contemptuously of a John Bull wearing 'Zouaves.'

68. The Roman puts Greek ribands round his neck anointed with Greek ointment. He delights to pose as a Greek even in his athletics, which the Romans used in Horace's time to practise in the 'Campus Martius.'

71. They find their way from Greece and Asia Minor, 'even to the Esquiline and Viminal,' the very heart of Rome.

Esquiliae. The change from 'x' to 's' is similar to that seen in 'sexcenti' to 'sescenti.' **Esquiliae** = 'ex-quil-iae;' viz. 'ex' and the root 'col' seen in 'colo.' The Esquiline was originally a burying ground lying outside the inhabited portion of Rome.

72. 'Even now the heart and soul of the households of the great, and soon destined to be their masters.' The emphatic position of 'futuri' should be noticed.

Cf. Shakspeare's portrait, which seems to suit the Greekling well—'As serving man, proud in heart and in mind, that curled my hair, wore gloves in my cap: swore as many oaths as I spake words and broke them in the sweet face of heaven. False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand,' etc. Lear iii. 4. (H. N.)

74. **Isaeo**, i.e. 'sermone Isaei.' The quality is compared with the person who possesses the quality. Hardy compares *κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὅμοιαι* (Il. xvii. 51). This Isaeus was an Assyrian improvisatore eulogised by Pliny, Ep. ii. 3, for his *ubertas*.

75. 'He is everything by turns and nothing long: you cannot say in what *τῦφλε* you will detect him.'

76. The shortening of the *o* in 'geometres' = *γεωμέτρης* is unusual. Weidner would scan the word as of three syllables.

aliptes, 'trainer.' This is the original sense in which this word was used: the common use in Juvenal's time was as 'curator corporis' in the baths.

78. **miseris**, the reading of P. Jussive or concessive use, as in Vergil, 'tu quoque magnam Partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare haberes' Aen. vi. 30. Weidner refers to Dio Chrys. xxi. 504 R, who states that Nero 'never took nay from any one, and on a man promising upon one occasion to fly he actually detained him in his palace till he consented to try to do so.'

79. **in summa**, 'to sum up.' Cicero uses 'ad summam' in this sense; cf. the Italian use of 'in somma,' 'in fact.' Daedalus was of no other nation, but a true Athenian.

81. **conchylia,** 'bright purple robes' unworthy of a Roman, and actually forbidden by several sumptuary laws to men to wear.

82. 'Shall I see foreign upstarts preferred to a genuine Roman like myself as witnesses and guests?' For the rank of guests at table see Horace, Ep. ii.; viii. 22 sq. There was sometimes a 'nomenclator' to assign their places to guests; see Athenaeus 2. 29 (quoted by Marq.).

83. Damascus plums (damsons) and small Syrian figs, which were imported into Rome *via* Alexandria.

85. 'I was reared on the Aventine, in the heart of Rome, on Sabine fare' (cf. l. 169), which was the simplest and produced the finest men. Cf. Vergil's 'pubem Sabellam' Georg. ii. 167. **baca** is the 'olive berry.'

88. 'They are actually adroit enough in their flattery to compare the long-drawn neck of an invalid to a hero at the time when he is at the supreme moment of his exertion, holding the giant above the earth.' This was the favourite attitude of the poets in which to describe wrestlers; cf. Lucan iv. 617; Stat. Theb. vi. 893.

91. **ille** = 'gallus' = 'vox galli, sc. mariti.' Here the 'gallus' stands for a quality attributed to it, a use found only after an adjective of comparison, as 'Isaeus' in l. 74 stood for 'sermo Isaei.' 'He is in ecstasies at the squeaky voice than which the voice of the cock does not sound more paltry.' The ablative 'quo marito' is a sort of ablative of attendant circumstances, serving almost as an adjective; cf. 'quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba cadebat' Sat. i. 25.

92. 'Certainly we can flatter; but they get credit for their flattery, while we do not.'

93. 'An melior est simulator cum comoedus agit muliebres personas quam in vera vita?' 'The Greek, we all know, is perfection itself as a player; now tell me whether he is not as good in playing a part in daily life? He is so good that even *off* the stage he plays as well as he plays *on* it; and his perfection in playing female parts is so great that you would say he was a real woman. He is equally at home in the part of a witty hetaira like Thaïs, or of a chaste wife, or of a waiting-maid, so trim without her tippet.' The servant wears her 'tunica' only, without the 'palliolum' or short mantle, which she has doffed from coquetry.

98. **nec tamen.** '*Yet*, although these Greeks are such good actors, they are not much better than the rest: a nation of comedians, and able to appreciate good acting, they would not appreciate the best actors who cannot act better than every Greek can act.' A variant 'tantum' for 'tamen' is noticed by Weidner with approval. 'Not even can an Antiochus vie with them.' Quintilian, xi. 3. 178, notices Demetrius and Stratocles 'placere diversis virtutibus.' Demetrius played grave and majestic parts, such as those of gods and mothers of families. Stratocles was strong in the parts of tricky slaves, parasites, etc.

100. **rides.** The hypothetical protasis is here stated as a fact, and is by an artifice of rhetoric regarded as realised. In Greek this is commonly introduced by *καὶ δή*: cf. Aesch. Eumenides 854 *καὶ δὴ δέδεγμαι. τίς δέ μοι τιμὴ μένει*; Aristoph. Vespae 1224, etc.

102. **nec dolet**, 'and yet he feels no grief.' 'Nec' for 'nec tamen.' Cf. 'ita occulte temperatur ut impleat nec redundet' Plin. Ep. v. 6. § 36.

103. **ἐνδρομίς** is in Greek 'a hunting boot,' only used of the boots worn by Artemis: in Latin it has the meaning of a warm overcoat which athletes cast over them after their exercises.

104. **non sumus**. This line is omitted by Weidner, and enclosed in brackets by most editors. (1) It breaks the connection between 'natio comoeda est' and what follows; (2) 'semper' is weak; (3) it is a question whether the phrase 'omni nocte dieque' is Latin.

105. **vultum**. 'He can put on an expression to match the other's face.' The 'vultus' is the changing expression: the 'facies' the unchanging lineaments of the face. He can therefore take his cue from the cast of his auditor's features.

108. **trulla**, 'a small ladle' or 'scoop' for dipping wine out of the 'crater' or 'vas vinarium;' sometimes of clay, as in Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 143. Weidner thinks that the Greek is represented as wanting also to dip wine; but the master plays him the trick of emptying the crater, and placing it before him empty. The Greek, in his zeal for flattery, not noticing this, strikes the bottom of the crater with the 'aurea trulla,' and instead of showing resentment at the trick, pays the master a compliment on his cleverness at a ruse. Others, taking 'trulla' as a 'drinking cup,' explain that if the master turns his glass over to show that it is empty, and the last drops escape with a gurgling sound, the parasite goes into ecstacies even at this. And this seems the simpler interpretation.

114–118. Weidner, following Teuffel, thinks it probable that these verses are a late interpolation after Tacitus, who, in Ann. xvi. 21–33, gives an account of the trial of Thrasea Paetus and Barea Soranus. Soranus, a man of position, was accused by a philosopher of Berytus, one Celer. Egnatius was rewarded; Soranus was put to death: one of the charges against him was that of causing his daughter Servilia to use magic arts. Ritter, followed by Mayor, adopts the reading 'discipulamque senex' here, in order to make an antithesis between the 'senex' and his disciple.

114. **coepit**, in perfect tense, as Lucr. R. N. v. 14.

transi gymnasia: 'pass over, overlook the crimes of the boys' schools: and let us look at the wickedness of an accepted philosopher.' These gymnasia or high schools are mentioned as hotbeds of vice by Seneca, De Brev. Vitae xii. 2. The Ephebi wore the chlamys or 'minor abolla,' Apuleius, Met. x: the philosophers the 'maior abolla.' Mayor, less probably, refers the words about the gymnasia to ll. 67, 68, making the sense, 'Let us pass by the gymnasia, and the shameful habit of copying the Greeks even in our athletics, and now come to a crime maioris togae, i. e. sceleris potioris.' In either case it must be admitted that the transition is somewhat brusque from 113 to 114.

117. **nutritus.** Egnatius was *born* at Berytus in Phoenicia (Dio lxii. 26), but *educated* at Tarsus on the bank of the Cydnus, which claimed to have received its name from Bellerophon's fall from Pegasus. 'Pegasus terrenum equitem gravatus Bellerophontem' Hor. Od. iv 11. 27. *ταρσός* was supposed to refer to the 'wing' or 'hoof' of Pegasus who fell there. Tarsus vied with Alexandria and Athens in literary activity, Strabo xiv.

118. **Gorgonei.** Pegasus was the offspring of Gorgo and Poseidon. Notice the sneer contained in 'caballus.' 'Gorgo's nag.'

119. **regnat.** A word distasteful to Roman ears.

120. **Protogenes** and **Hermarchus.** Unknown Greek intruders.

122. **facilem,** 'the goodnatured ear of his listener.'

123. 'A drop of the poison natural alike to his character and to his country.'

124. **summoveor.** The word used of the lictor who 'summovet turbam,' makes the crowd *move on*: thus Juvenal says 'I have the word to move on.'

125. His relation as 'cliens' is called 'servitium.'

iactura, as we might say 'the throwing a client overboard.'

126. The sense is, 'Besides, to speak the truth, the pauper cannot talk of services or duty. What does he get, diligent though he be to don his toga ere dawn, and to run off to the "salutatio," seeing that even the praetor posts in hot haste on the same errand?' Weidner makes 'togatus' refer to the class of *rich Romans;* and would understand 'what good can the poor man do, if the "togatus" is intent on performing the salutatio, as well as the praetor?'

130. **Albina** and **Modia** are rich ladies with no heirs: the praetor cannot make his lictor go fast enough to salute them: he alleges that they must have been long since up, and his colleague may anticipate him and win their favour. Weidner understands by 'orbis' orphans who are waiting in the praetor's 'vestibulum' to claim their rights or to ask for aid,—but surely the explanation given is correct.

131. **eludit latus.** Here a son of freeborn parents gives the wall to a wealthy slave: for the other (the slave) has money enough to squander on bad characters. Weidner supposes 'hic' to correspond to 'alter,' and says that two young dandies of fortune are spoken of; one who walks with a rich slave; another who squanders a tribune's pay in debauchery. But surely 'hic' means 'here' deictically; though it may possibly mean 'at Rome,' as in l. 127. P reads 'servo,' which gives the sense required.

132. Pliny, H. N. xxxiv. 11, cites the military tribune's pay as proverbially high. Cf. also id. iii. 13.

137. **hospes.** P. Scipio Nasica, who, as the 'vir optimus' in Rome in 204 B.C., received the injunction to act as 'hospes' to the mother of the gods. See Livy xxix. 11.

139. L. Caecilius Metellus saved the Palladium from the burning temple of Vesta, B. C. 241, but lost his eyesight through his exertions. See Pliny vii. 43.

140. 'Straightway to his income!'

141. **pascere** is the regular word for keeping slaves and cattle: **possidere** for occupying the public lands as pastoral licensee.

142. **paropsis**, properly = 'patella;' and then used, as here, for a costly dish.

144. The Samothracian gods were called *Cabiri*; and their mysteries were looked on as equally solemn with the Eleusinian mysteries. The Romans of the imperial times regarded them as particularly impressive.

145. 'The poor man is thought to be beneath the gods' notice even as an object of punishment.'

149. 'If his toga is the least soiled, and one of his shoes shows a hole where the leather is worn; or if a patch or two where a rent has been cobbled shows clumsy fresh stitching.'

153. One of the insults to which poverty exposes the poor man is that he actually cannot sit with the wealthy in the theatre. The Lex Roscia de quattuordecim ordinibus reserved the first fourteen rows in the theatre to the knights: Domitian extended the privilege of occupying these seats to all who possessed the 'census equestris.' There was an official called 'designator' whose business it was to see that none of the plebs came there.

inquit, 'is the word,' used impersonally, as in vii. 242.

154. **si pudor est.** The Scholiast read 'si pudor est de se,' which is adopted by Simcox.

157. **nitidi.** The praeco or auctioneer affected dandified airs: his son squandered the money he had amassed.

158. The Samnis was a gladiator who wore a 'galea cristata:' the 'pinna' on his helmet was the trophy which his adversary, the 'provocator,' endeavoured to wrest from him: the young dandies of Rome apprenticed themselves to a 'pinnirapus' or a 'lanista' to learn to fight *en règle*.

161. 'Collige sarcinulas,' 'pack up your dowry,' was a form of divorce. Cf. Sat. vi. 146. Another was 'tuas tibi res habeto' Plaut. Trin. 266. Highly dowered wives were however deemed the curse of their husbands. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 24. 19; Plaut. Asin. 87.

162. The aediles were the police magistrates at Rome: to be their assessor would confer a certain amount of dignity on an ordinary citizen.

163. **olim**, 'long since;' the classical expression would be 'iamdudum.' Cf. Sat. iv. 96. They ought to have made a second secession to the Mons Sacer.

164. 'Poverty is everywhere a millstone round the neck; but at Rome it is more fatal than elsewhere.'

168. 'Besides, at Rome the fashion is to use expensive ware.' Simcox defends the MSS. reading 'negavit,' 'which the poor man, if transported, is sure to deny,' 'negavit' having the aorist sense.

170. **venetus**, properly 'sea-coloured,' 'pale.'

cucullus, 'a cowl' or 'capote' to throw over the head in the cold weather.

171. 'Yes! there is a large part of Italy yet in which the toga is unknown until a man is dead.' Freemen were buried in the toga. Cf. Mart. ix. 57. 8.

172. Everything here points to the simplicity of country life. The festivals occur only from time to time (**si quando**): the theatre itself is on the grass: the games are eagerly looked for (**tandem**): the mother, rather than not witness them, brings her baby in her arms. All this, as Simcox has pointed out, contrasts with Rome where the games were never-ending. For the custom of celebrating these country games see Tac. Ann. xiv. 20.

173. Tacitus, as quoted above, expressly tells us that the old custom of holding rural theatrical exhibitions lasted long in the country. Livy, vii. 2, says that 'postquam ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactare coepit, quae inde *exodia* postea appellata consertaque Atellanis sunt.'

178. The Romans, having no chorus, reserved the orchestra for the senate and magistrates: behind this were the fourteen 'ordines:' and behind them was the 'cavea' of the plebs. In the country towns these distinctions were not observed. The aediles sit in the orchestra; but even they do not don the toga, but merely the *tunica alba*, while the plebs dresses in the *pulla*.

184. **Cossus**, unknown.

185. **Veiento** is characterised by Pliny, Ep. iv. 22. 4, by the words 'dixi omnia cum hominem nominavi.' Cf. also Tac. Ann. xiv. 50, Dio lxi. 6, who tells us that he trained dogs to draw cars like horses.

186. 'One patron holds a festival on the occasion of some favourite's beard being shaved, and another dedicates his page's lock to a god; then the house is full of cakes; you, the client, have to buy even these from the slaves. Does not this make your blood boil?'

187. **accipe** is a stronger word than 'cape;' the advice is—'Grasp at the cakes, and as you do so feel indignant.'

190. 'In country towns you need fear none of the dangers which make life intolerable at Rome; such as falling houses, fires, marauders, street noises:' for 'gelida Praeneste' cf. Hor. Od. iii. 4. 22.

193. **tibicen**, 'a slender shoring,' which shoring however takes up a great part of the room in the streets. The thought seems to be the same as that in xii. 55 'discriminis ultima, quando Praesidia adferimus navem factura minorem.'

194. 'For like this (so carelessly) a country bailiff props up his falling tenements:' the meaning would more naturally be expressed by 'sicut labentibus obstat.' Juvenal is thinking of the neglected country villas which fell into decay through the proprietors living at Rome. Weidner would take **vilicus** as the *proprietor* of one of these lodging-houses; 'for in this careless way (**sic**) does he prop up the falling house, in Rome,' etc. But 'vilicus' seems always to refer to the bailiff of a country estate, unless indeed when used in the sense of a director or superintendent of some department.

198. **frivola**, from root 'ghar,' 'to rub,' connected with χρίω, properly what is rubbed or torn; here applied to worthless furniture.

199. **Ucalegon**, used for 'neighbour,' referring to Verg. Aen. ii. 311 'iam proxumus ardet Ucalegon.' 'You are above him in the attic under the roof, and you naturally know nothing of the fire till the third storey to your cost (**tibi**) is on fire.' The laws for the suppression of fires were very severe.

200. 'For if the alarm starts from the steps below, the poor inmate under the tiles is the last to burn.'

203. 'Poor Codrus had furniture scant enough 'tis true, but it was his all—'tis all now gone.'

Procula minor, possibly 'narrow even for his little wife.' Others have thought that 'Procula' may refer to a noted dwarf of the day.

206. **cista**. He had an old chest for his Greek MSS. in contradistinction to the 'capsae' of the wealthy.

207. **opici**, the Greek word for 'Oscan,' speaking what appeared to the Romans an unintelligible jargon; hence foreign, uncultivated; 'those Vandals, the mice.'

212. 'If the rich man dies it is a different story: the matrons put on weeds; the notables don black; the courts are closed.'

pullati stands as a finite verb. It is connected etymologically with πελλός, 'dark grey.'

213. **differt vadimonia**, 'defers the day on which the defendant need appear.'

216. **conferat**, lit. 'to collect his expenses;' to get together the sum he has spent, hence 'to subscribe to his expenses.' His officious rich acquaintance will give him, not merely the needful money, but even real works of art.

217. Another will give some *chef d'œuvre* of **Euphranor** or **Polyclitus**. Euphranor was an Athenian statuary and painter; Polyclitus, a statuary of Argos or Sicyon contemporary with Pericles.

218. Weidner, reading 'haec Asianorum,' etc., omits the line as spurious, remarking that the word 'Asianorum' is too vague, and that there is no reason why a woman should be described as giving these **ornamenta**. Roth, from the readings 'fecasianorum' and 'phaecasianorum' respectively, restored **phaecasiatorum**, the reading of the text, also adopted by Mayor. The φαικάσιον was a kind of white shoe worn by priests at Athens and Egypt. Cf. Seneca, De Beneficiis vii. 21 'Pythagoricus quidam emerat a sutore phaecasia,' and Pet. Sat. lxvi. 4. The Pythagoreans were said to have drawn some of their doctrines from the priests of Egypt. Seneca also uses 'phaecasiatum palliatumque' Ep. cxiii, as the marks of a Greek philosopher.

220. Probably Juvenal here refers to some well-known case which occurred in his day; it is not likely that he would speak of Persicus as living in the 'magna Assaraci domus.'

221. **orborum lautissimus**, an oxymoron, 'happiest of mourners.'

222. **tamquam**, used in the Silver Age of Latinity not as implying any

doubt of the fact, but to show the *grounds* of the accusation. We say he was accused *of* doing. Tacitus, Pliny, and Juvenal would say 'accusatus est tamquam fecisset;' cf. 'reum postulavit tamquam' Pliny, Ep. iii. 9. 29 (quoted by Mayor).

223. 'If you can tear yourself from your beloved Circus, you can buy a capital house in some country town not too far from Rome, for the yearly rent you pay for a dark garret in town.' The Ludi magni or **Circenses** were held in April in the Circus Maximus. In Sat. x. 82 Juvenal speaks of their popularity with the mob.

Sora, on the Liris.

224. **Fabrateria** and **Frusino**, both in Latium.

paratur, 'is to be bought outright.' Cf. the use of 'comprare' in modern Italian.

226. **puteus brevis**, i. e. a well in which the water is not long to reach or far from the surface, so that you need no rope to draw it up.

229. For the Pythagoreans eat nothing but vegetables, of which they eat every kind with the exception of beans; 'quoniam mortuorum animae sint in ea' Plin. N. H. xviii. 12. 30.

230. ''Tis a fine thing to feel that you own something, however out of the way your property may lie, and though it contains but a single living thing and that a lizard.' Cf. Mart. xi. 18. 5, 6, a property so small 'quod formica die comedit uno.'

232. 'Sleeplessness kills many at Rome: sleeplessness and indigestion accompany one another.'

235. **magnis opibus**, abl. of price: 'sleep in town stands high.'

236. Heavy waggon traffic was forbidden in Rome during the day; consequently the din during the night was more maddening.

237. **stantis convicia mandrae.** The 'abuse' of the drovers when the droves are brought to a standstill. Others have referred the 'convicia' to the bleating of the sheep.

238. **Drusus.** Tiberius Claudius Drusus, Caligula's successor, proverbial for his sleepiness. Suetonius, Claud. caps. 8 and 33. Seals were also proverbial as sound sleepers. See Pliny, H. N. ix. § 15. and Homer Od. iv. 448. The collocation of Drusus and the seals is not intended to be flattering to the former.

240. **liburna**, 'a light galley.' He passes over the sea of faces as though he were in a pinnace. The reading 'Liburno' will mean 'thanks to his Liburnian sedan-man.'

241. **obiter**, 'on the way.'

244. **unda** is used of the tide of human beings in Verg. Georg. ii. 462. For the whole picture see Becker's Gallus i. 73.

246. **metretam**, 'a wine cask;' properly, as the name denotes, a cask of a particular measure, viz. 12 χόες, about nine gallons.

248. The same complaint as in xvi. 14, 25.

249. The **sportula** is the 'dole-basket' in which the rich man sends out the rations for distribution to his clients; see note on 'Clientela' in Introduction; cf. Athenaeus viii. 17.

The **fumus** arises from the portable kitchens—or rather apparatus for keeping the victuals hot—borne by the slaves of the 'clientes' who came to claim their owner's dole from the 'sportula.'

250. **Cn. Domitius Corbulo.** Cf. Tac. Ann. xiii. 8. He is described as 'corpore ingens, verbis magnificus.'

253. As the slave runs to get his place by the 'sportula' he naturally fans the flame of the 'culina.'

255. **sarracum.** Quintilian, viii. 3. 21, tells us that 'sarracum' was the 'sordidum nomen' for 'plaustrum.' Juvenal, in v. 23, characteristically uses the 'sordidum nomen' in speaking of the constellation of 'the Wain.' The fact that he uses the word **altera** will show that he regarded 'sarracum' and 'plaustrum' as synonyms.

256. **populo minantur—Nam.** 'They threaten death I say—*for* should the waggon turn over.'

257. **saxa Ligustica,** marble from Luna (Carrara) and Pisa used for building purposes. Cf. Mart. v. 22. 8.

260. 'Their body perishes entirely and becomes as invisible as their souls.' This is a comical reference to Homer, Od. xi. 222 *ψυχὴ δ' ἠύτ' ὄνειρος ἀποπταμένη πεπότηται.*

261. 'Thus the master perishes: his family suspect it so little that they are getting his dinner ready.'

262. **bucca,** the Low Latin word for 'mouth,' commonly used in a more or less derisive sense. Cf. line 35. The Romans took a bath before dinner: cf. Becker's Gallus iii. 89, and the references quoted there.

263. The **strigil** was 'a flesh scraper' used to remove the oil after bathing; much art was often expended on these, as on a new-fashioned one described by Apuleius, Florid. i. 9. **Lintea,** 'towels;' **gutus,** 'oil-flask.'

264. 'While the family are expecting him home to dinner, the master the while (**iam**) is sitting on the bank of the Styx and shuddering at the grim ferryman.' He speaks scoffingly, as usual, of Greek mythology: A small coin was put into the mouth of Greek corpses, as *ναῦλον*, to get them ferried over the Styx.

268–314. 'There are many other dangers in Rome of a different kind (**diversa**), such as those arising from the height of the houses and from the street bullies.'

269. Weidner takes **spatium** to signify the space *between* the high-pitched roofs. Surely the meaning is 'at what a distance are the high-pitched roofs, a distance or height so great that a potsherd falling down will dent the pavement and crush in a man's crown.' Cf. Seneca Contr. ii. 9 'tanta altitudo aedificiorum est, ut neque adversus ignem praesidium nec ex ruinis ullum ullam in partem effugium sit.'

270. **fenestris.** The more usual construction would be 'de fenestris;' but the ablative is also used, especially in poetry, without any preposition. Cf. Livy i. 31 'Crebri cecidere caelo lapides.' Mayor notices that there is a title in the Digest ix. 3 'De his qui effuderint vel

deiecerint.' 'Si eo ictu homo liber periisse dicetur, quinquaginta aureorum iudicium dabo,' etc., Ulpian, ib. 1 pr.

272. **ignavus.** Too 'lazy' to attend to the common duties of a citizen.

274. **adeo,** 'to such a degree,' 'so' true is it, that there are as many chances of death as there are windows with watchers behind them (**vigiles**).

277. **patulas pelves,** 'shallow ewers' or 'footpans' = the Greek πελλίς.

278. Tacitus, Annals xiii. 25, gives a lively picture of the 'foeda domi licentia,' Nero playing the part of a common 'grassator.' The passage should be read with this.

279. **noctem.** The 'grassator' who has not killed somebody in a street-brawl can't sleep for remorse: he is as vexed as Achilles was by the death of Patroclus, Il. xxiv. 10, 11.

281. This line is omitted by Weidner and Heineke as destroying the sequence of the thought. But we can well imagine that a question of the kind inserted in an exciting description like that which precedes it would have a telling effect on an audience. And we should always think of Juvenal as a reciter with a view to effect. (See Introduction.)

282. 'However much he have of the impudence of youth, *still* he has wits enough to know that he had better keep the rich man—who has a crowd of retainers—at a respectful distance.'

283. The **laena** was a thick warm cloak worn over the other garments, especially by the rich, who affected bright colours. See Martial ii. 57, 3, Persius i. 32.

286. **deducere,** the regular word for 'escorting' on the part of clients who wished to honour their patrons: 'Cum magna multitudo optimorum virorum me de foro deduceret' Cic. Fam. x. 12. 2. 'The moon is my regular and only escort.'

287. **candelae,** a piece of rope dipped in pitch or tallow which would soon burn out (**breve**), 'and which I must therefore husband and cherish.' **brevis,** short-lived, like 'brevis rosa' in Horace, Od. ii. 3. 4.

292. **cuius aceto.** The dishes here mentioned were those of the lowest class at Rome. The wine was sour: the **conchis** a common bean eaten by the poor; Mart. v. 39. 10. **sectile** or **sectivum porrum** is the blades of leek cut and eaten as we eat chives or asparagus. The grassator then asks, 'What low company have you been keeping?'

296. **Quaero.** In asking a question the present indic. is used when there is no doubt in the mind of the interrogator as to what the answer will be: 'Surely it is in a prayer-shop that I am to look for you?' cf. iv. 130 'Quidnam igitur censes? Conciditur?' 'Cut it up, no doubt?'

The **proseuchae** are the oratories of the Jews, who were much despised at Rome.

298. 'They assault you and then bring an action as if you were the aggressor.'

302. Besides these fashionable roysterers common thieves and street robbers have to be feared.

305. **agit rem,** 'does your business.'

306. 'As soon as ever the Pomptine Marshes and Gallinarian pine-wood are cleared of robbers, these all betake themselves hither, as if this was their natural feeding-ground.' Augustus attempted to drain the Pomptine Marshes in Latium. The Gallinarian pine-wood was near Cumae, a well-known haunt of banditti.

309. The order is 'Qua fornace, qua incude, non graves catenae?'

310. **modus.** 'The greatest quantity of iron goes for fetters,' so that one well may fear that none will be left for spades and hoes.

314. **uno carcere.** The Mamertine prison, in the district called the Lautumiae, beyond the Argiletum to the N.W. of the Forum, said by Livy, i. 33, to have been built by Ancus Martius. See Burn (Rome and the Campagna p. 80), who also explains the word 'Tullianum,' which was alleged to have been a dungeon added by Servius Tullius, as in reality meaning the 'well-house,' from an old word 'tullius' meaning a 'projection of water.'

318. 'As often as you come from Rome to Aquinum, I will come and stay with you.' Juvenal was a native of Aquinum, and probably had some property there near the shrine of Ceres and Diana.

Helvia, the name of a Roman gens,—it is otherwise unknown.

322. P reads 'auditor'—the reading adopted. He means, I will come as a hearer who has not yet lost his love for country simplicity in contrast to the spoilt and effeminate 'auditores' in Rome; as men leave the heat in Rome (augusto mense) I will prepare to brook the cold in the country.

SATIRE IV.

A ROYAL TURBOT.

THE fourth Satire, which stands by itself as a story told in verse, consists of an introduction, ll. 1–36; a narrative, ll. 37–149; and a peroration, ll. 150–154. It is quite possible that the introduction as far as l. 27 belonged originally to another poem, which was chiefly directed against Crispinus. The argument, 'if Crispinus was a glutton, what must the Emperor have been?' is rather too forced to have been intended as the opening passage of a singularly vivid description. Again, the burial of the vestal, alluded to in ll. 9 and 10 as 'nuper,' occurred in ll. 89 or 91; the latter part of the poem attacking Domitian himself can hardly have been written till Nerva's reign, ll. 96–98. It is difficult to say what real story the Satire refers to. It would seem as if it must apply to Cornelia, the only vestal who was buried alive; but it is doubtful if she was guilty at all, and her supposed paramour was Licianus, who confessed to save his life, and was banished to Sicily. Licianus, a Roman of rank, a scholar, and disgraced, cannot have been Crispinus, an Egyptian, an upstart, and who remained powerful. Perhaps Juvenal believed that Cornelia was guilty, and that Crispinus was her real seducer. Suetonius implies that she had had several intrigues.

SATIRE IV.

Again the monster Crispinus! who committed incest with a vestal virgin, ll. 1–10, but this poem only deals with a minor offence against morals, though one the censor would notice in any other person, the purchase of a mullet for 6000 sesterces simply for his own eating, ll. 11–27. When the buffoon of the palace fared in this way, what must the Emperor have indulged in, ll. 28–32. Sing the true story, ye Virgin Muses, 33–36.

In Domitian's time a fisherman at Ancona catches a turbot as big as are found in the Black Sea, ll. 37–44; he thinks it safer to make a merit of offering it to the Emperor, and finds him at his Alban palace, ll. 45–62; the fish is let in while the Senators are kept waiting outside, ll. 60–71; but as there is no dish big enough to hold it, a Council is summoned in hot haste, ll. 72–75. Pegasus comes first, the upright lawyer, but too constitutional for times out of joint, ll. 76–81; next Crispus, well-intentioned, but too timid to stake his life on the truth, ll. 81–93; then Acilius, with his son doomed to death by his eminence, 94–103; then the profligate and foul-mouthed Rubrius and fat Montanus, and Crispinus reeking with scent, and Pompey the informer and Fuscus brooding over war, and blind Catullus with the tricks of a roadside beggar who loved the woman and praised the fish he could not see, ll. 94–129. The opinion of Montanus that a special dish be made for the turbot prevails as that of an expert, ll. 130–143. Hereupon the Council is dismissed, its important public functions having been discharged, ll. 144–149.

Would to God Domitian had spent his time in these trifles rather than in butchering the nobility! ll. 150–154.

This Satire, it will be seen, is composed of two parts, which seem but slightly, and somewhat inartistically, connected with each other. The inartistic and incoherent way in which the pictures of Roman life which the Satirist brings before us are connected, is seen in this Satire as markedly as in the first. The first part, 1–33, deals with Crispinus: the rest, 37–154, with Domitian's degrading tyranny. The thought which connects the two is found in ll. 28, 33 'If the servant indulges in such unrestrained luxury, what may we not expect from the master?' Weidner supposes that the two portions of this Satire were originally two separate Satires, united into one by some blunder or accident.

1. **ecce iterum Crispinus!** Juvenal certainly has mentioned Crispinus in i. 26: but it seems questionable whether these words do not imply that the whole of a previous Satire, now lost, had been devoted to him. Heinrich suggests that the words may have passed into a proverb; possibly dating from some old satirist like Lucilius. 'Here we are again with Crispinus!' He appears, from the passage noticed in Satire i, and from lines 24, 32, to have been an Egyptian born. Now Augustus had expressly commanded that no Egyptian should have a seat in the Roman senate; and this law was strictly observed down to

Caracalla's time. It seems then probable that he was 'praefectus cohortium,' and as such had a place in the imperial council.

2. **ad partes** keeps up the metaphor of line 1 from the language of the theatre: 'I have to summon him on to the stage.'

4. **deliciae**: 'the fop, weakened (through vice) and strong but in passion alone.' Simcox quotes Martial viii. 48. 5, 6, for 'deliciae,' 'Non quicunque capit saturatas murice vestes;—Nec nisi deliciis convenit iste color.' Heinrich, following some MSS., reads, 'aeger: delicias viduae;' and construes 'he scorns no charms but those of maidens.'

vidua is the regular word for any unmarried woman. Cf. Spalding, Quintilian ii. p. 359, and Hor. Ep. i. 1. 78. The root is 'vidh,' 'to be empty, lacking.'

5. '*Therefore*—wretch as he is—what does it matter how wealthy he may be? His wealth can never bring him happiness, in spite of the size of the cloisters he owns in which to drive in wet weather; in spite of the land and houses he has purchased in the heart of the city.' It is hard to agree with Simcox's remarks, Hist. of Latin Literature vol. ii. p. 127 'There seems to be something personal in Juvenal's contention with Crispinus, for he has, after all, very little to say against him. . . . The worst that is said of him is that he seduced a vestal, and gave £50 for a fish.' Surely the point is that he was so utterly heartless that he did not shrink from seducing a vestal, though he knew that the penalty for her fault was that she would be buried alive. Besides, if we accept the view of Juvenal's religion that he revered, or at all events wished to see revered, the genuine old Roman cult, as distinguished from the new-fangled Greek and Oriental importations, we shall believe that his indignation was genuine at seeing religion violated in the person of the vestal.

refert stands for 'rei-fert:' 'mea' and 'tua,' with which it is joined, are really datives, but were early taken for ablatives. In the Latin of the Silver age we often find a defining genitive attached to 'rei:' e.g. Quintilian ix. 4. 44 'plurimum refert compositionis.' See Müller, Handbuch der kl. Altertümer p. 271.

6. **porticibus**: 'covered columns' or 'cloisters' for riding in, or being exercised in palanquins during wet weather.

12. **caderet**, 'he would lose his case;' 'be cast:' cf. x. 69. The imperfect instead of the pluperfect means 'he would at the present day lose his case.'

iudice morum. Domitian arrogated to himself the title of 'Censor perpetuus,' and as such condemned four vestal virgins to death. See Suet. Dom. viii.

13. **bonis**: to ordinary honest men such as 'Titius' and 'Seius;' names used in Roman law to represent imaginary personages—John Doe and Richard Roe. Heinrich instances 'Hunz und Kunz.'

15. 'What can you do when the delinquent is so bad that he is worse than any charge you can bring against him?' The ordinary weight of a **mullus** was from two to four pounds. Cf. Pliny, H. N. ix. 30 'binas

libras ponderis raro admodum exsuperant.' Horace, Sat. ii. 2. 33, ridicules the idea that fish tasted better because they were large.

16. **sane.** 'To be sure he gave a sesterce for every pound, as those say who on big subjects talk still bigger.'

18. 'I congratulate the sly fellow on his trick, if he gave so handsome a present to get himself made heir-in-chief to an old gentleman.'

19. **praecipuus** in the writers of the Silver age for the more usual 'primus' or 'maximus.'

20. 'He had a further end in view if he gave a present to a lady in high station (who might aid him afterwards to rise higher).'

21. **antro,** 'a palanquin' covered so as to ensure her privacy, but with large windows so as to ensure, at the same time, that she could keep her eyes open.

23. 'We have lived to see many extravagances committed in comparison with which those of Apicius seem miserly and sparing.' Seneca, Ep. xcv. 42, relates that Apicius bid against P. Octavius, praefect of Egypt, for a mullet: but desisted on finding that the latter bid 5000 sesterces for the dainty. See also Mart. iii. 22.

24. **succinctus** = 'alte cinctus' Horace, Sat. ii. 8. 10, giving a picture not merely of a slave, but of a slave hard at work. 'The reed apron of your country tucked up for work.'

25. **squamam,** of course for a fish; but the satirist picks out the most useless part to signify the whole.

26. **provincia.** 'In the provinces you can purchase an estate for the price: *nay*, in Apulia a really large one.' Weidner aptly quotes Ovid, Met. viii. 283, to illustrate this use of **sed**: 'Misit aprum quanto maiores herbida tauros Non habet Epiros, sed habent Sicula arva minores;' and Apuleius uses 'sed' as a mere resumptive, 'totum me, sed prorsum totum recepit' (Met. x. 22). Apulia was a dry, parched-up province, thinly inhabited. Cf. Seneca, Ep. lxxxvii. 6 'tantum suburbani agri possidet quantum in desertis Apuliae possideret.'

28. **putamus.** 'What must we think?' Cf. Cic. Tusc. Disp. i. 20 'quod tandem spectaculum fore putamus?' Cf. also Catull. i. 1 'Cui dono lepidum novum libellum?' Cf. also 'in qua te quaero proseucha?' Sat. iii. 296.

29. **induperatorem.** The archaic form points the irony, as it also suits the metre.

31. **scurra,** 'the private jester' of the Emperor; satirically for his boon companion.

32. During the first century of the empire the emperor would often promote his favourites to the rank of 'eques,' by presenting them with the golden ring. See Plin. N. H. xxxiii. 32.

33. 'He would buy up sprats, his fellow townsmen (implying that they were about as valuable as he), which he had bought from a parcel of damaged goods.' Others understand **fracta de merce** 'on a parcel being broken up,' as Crispinus was too poor to buy a parcel wholesale.

34. 'Begin, Muse of Epic poetry; you needn't get up to declaim, as it is no fiction, but mere historical fact that I ask you to tell.'

37. The picture seems drawn from a tiger worrying its prey, such as any Roman must often have seen in the Circus.

38. **calvo.** Domitian was very sensitive as to his personal appearance. Ausonius, De Ord. xii Imp. 12 'calvum dixit sua Roma Neronem.'

39. **spatium admirabile.** A parody of such Epic expressions as *βίη Ἡρακληείη*: cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 18 '*formae* magnorum ululare luporum.'

40. **Dorica,** founded by Dorian refugees from Syracuse. Cf. Strabo v. 241.

sustinet implies that the temple was supported by a high rock; it was sacred to 'Venus marina.'

41. **sinus,** 'the folds' of the net.

42. Cf. Ovid, Tristia iii. 10. 49, describing the Euxine, says

'Vidimus in glacie pisces haerere ligatos
Et pars ex illis tunc quoque viva fuit.'

glacies Maeotica is the ice on the sea of Azov. Here the fish were frozen in during the winter, and in the spring they passed through the Cimmerian Bosporus into the 'Pontus.'

43. **solibus,** 'hot sunny days,' as in Verg. Georg. i. 393 'nec minus ex imbri soles.'

44. **desidia.** They grew fat from inaction (like a prisoner), for they were icebound, and could not stir.

45. Ironical: he refers at once to the sacred office of pontifex, and to the fine suppers to which the priests were addicted, and which had passed into a proverb. Cf. Hor. Od. ii. 14. 28. Horace seems to touch with light irony what Juvenal visits with severer satire. Heinrich renders 'dem erhabensten Fresser;' and cites Macrobius, Sat. ii. 9, who gives the *menu* of the 'coena' of the pontifex Metellus. After the death of Lepidus, in B. C. 13, Augustus accepted the office and title of Pontifex Maximus, which was ever after regularly conferred upon the new Emperor by a vote of the senate.

46. **proponere,** 'to expose' for sale in open market.

49. 'These spies, who would search even the seaweed for contraband goods, would take the law even of the naked fisherman.'

alga, proverbial of anything worthless; Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 8.

50. 'They would allege that even the seas and rivers were the private property of the Emperor;' though this was expressly opposed to the spirit of the Roman law, which enacted 'Flumina omnia et portus publica sunt ideoque ius piscandi omnibus commune est in portu fluminibusque' Just. Inst. ii. 1. 2.

53. **Palfurio.** Palfurius and Armillatus were, the Scholiast tells us, jurists of Domitian's time and 'delatores' as well. His authority, he tells us, is one Marius Maximus, a chronicler under the empire, whose works are now lost.

55. These worthies maintained that the fish in the sea belonged to the private **fiscus** of the Emperor, and not to the public *aerarium.*

56. 'The fish, therefore, shall be presented to him, lest it should count for nothing.'

The following verses are mock-heroic.

57. The patients began to hope that their daily attack of fever might turn into a quartan. 'Saeva nocens febris saltem quartana fuisses!' Mart. x. 77. 3. Cicero writes to Tiro (Ad Fam. xvi. 11) as if the effects of the quartan fever from which the latter was suffering would eventually prove actually beneficial.

58. **stridebat.** An ugly cold wind was howling.

59. The south-west wind would spoil fresh fish: cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 2. 41 'At vos Praesentes Austri coquite horum opsonia.'

60. **lacus.** Two small lakes at the foot of the Alban hills: the lacus Nemorensis and the lacus Albanus. The Albanum, Domitian's favourite palace, lay on the Alban mount, and these two small lakes lay beneath his feet. 'Between Castel Gandolfo and Albano four magnificent terraces, rising one above the other, were traced by Cav. Rosa as forming part of the Albanum Caesarum, and in the villa Barberini there is a considerable part of a cryptoporticus, ornamented with stucco reliefs, which probably stands over the old substructions of the Villa Clodi' Burn, Old Rome p. 203.

61. **ignem Troianum**; brought by Aeneas from Troy and never allowed to be extinguished; the continuity of Rome's existence depended on the maintenance of the sacred fire; cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 296 'Et manibus vittas Vestamque potentem Aeternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem.'

Alba. When Alba Longa was destroyed by Tullus Hostilius, Vesta's temple, with the sacred fire, was spared, and Vesta's *lesser* shrine was revered near the Albanum, as her greater shrine was in Rome. The letters of Symmachus, a contemporary of St. Ambrose, mention a College of Vestals on the Alban hills. Cf. Marini, Fr. Arv. 654, 663.

62. **parumper**—'parum' is connected with the root 'spar;' the terminal 'per' is that found in 'nuper,' etc., and etymologically connected with *παρά*.

63. **facili.** Difficult of access as Domitian was, the *fish* could get in, when less favoured applicants were excluded.

65. **Atriden.** Agamemnon, the type of self-willed majesty, addressed by Achilles as *ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδές* and as *κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο.*

66. **genialis.** 'Hold this day as the festival of your genius:' the most festive day in a Roman's life. See Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 140.

67. **saginae,** 'to stretch your stomach for the good gorge that awaits it.' The best MSS. read 'saginam,' whence Mayor reads 'saginans,' 'let your stomach out by cramming it.'

68. Cf. the fisherman's words to Polycrates in Schiller's fine ballad, 'Der Ring des Polycrates,' l. 82 sq.

69. **apertius,** 'more obvious, gross, palpable.'

70. He raised his crest, as a cock raises its comb, flattered even by such extravagant nonsense. **illi** is, of course, the Emperor.

71. **dis aequa potestas.** Suetonius expressly tells us that Domitian

loved to hear the greeting on gala days in the theatre 'domino et dominae feliciter!' He also began his rescripts 'dominus vester ac deus.'

72. **patinae mensura**, 'a dish of the right size.'

73. **proceres.** Those prominent men of the senate whom he deemed vile enough to be worthy of forming his privy council: he hated all the senate, and would fain have got rid of them all at one blow.

75. **Liburnus.** The 'servus admissionis:' a native of Illyricum, whence came the best *lecticarii* iii. 240.

76. The **abolla** was a stout cloak to keep off the rain. The Cynics wore it, cf. Mart. iv. 53. **Pegasus** probably wore it to please the Emperor, who affected to approve of a rough, old-fashioned simplicity.

77. **Pegasus** had lately been created praefectus urbi: cf. Tac. Ann. vi. 11. The epithet **vilicus** implies that he was the head of a gang of slaves (the Roman populace), who belonged to the Emperor, who was 'dominus' of the city.

78. **quorum optimus.** 'Pegasus was the best of these praefecti urbi, but even *he*, during that Reign of Terror, thought that he did his duty in administering simple justice and avoiding to take up arms in her sacred cause.' Pegasus is mentioned as a celebrated lawyer in the Institutes and Digests: Inst. ii. 23. 5; Dig. i. 2. 53.

81. **Crispi**, 'pecunia potentia ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos' Tac. Hist. ii. 10. He was proconsul of Africa under Domitian. Cf. Suetonius, Dom. 3. Quintilian, x. 1. 119, praises his *bonhomie* at the expense of his eloquence. Mart. iv. 54. 7 speaks of his great wealth.

82. **mores**, 'character.' 'Mores' are the traits or qualities which collectively make up the whole character. Cf. Plautus, Most. 171 'ut lepide omnis mores tenet sententiasque amantum.' Cf. also Verg. Georg. i. 51 'Mores caeli.'

86. **violentius**, 'more capricious:' liable to more unreasoning outbursts.

89. **igitur.** 'And so, in consequence of his good nature, and of the risk being too great, he would never swim against the stream.'

90. 'He was not a good enough citizen to risk his life in the cause of truth.'

93. **solstitia** is used for 'summers,' as in Verg. Georgics i. 266. The ancient division of the year was into winter and summer only.

94. **Acilius.** The father and son. M'. Acilius Glabrio was consul with Trajan in A.D. 44, and was murdered in the eleventh year of Domitian's reign, after surviving a contest with a lion at the Albanum on the occasion of the Juvenalia: Dio lxvii. § 14. 'The amphitheatre is situated between the Church of S. Paolo and that of the Capuchin convent. . . . It is supposed to have been the scene of the feats performed by Domitian in killing with his own hands hundreds of wild beasts with arrows and javelins, and also of the degradation of Acilius Glabrio' Burn, Old Rome.

96. **olim.** 'Long since old age and nobility have ceased to go together, and so I would prefer to be one of those who can boast no ancestry but mother earth. I will be content to be the "little brother" of mother earth's giant brood.' 'Ignobiles' are spoken of as 'terrae filii.' 'Olim' would in classical Latin have been 'iamdudum;' cf. iii. 163.

100. 'It did him no good to have sought to win the Emperor's favour by descending into the lists as a common gladiator: by this time a mere simpleton could see through the tricks of the patricians to win favour.' Cf. Satire viii. 185, where Juvenal describes the way in which the patricians descended to the level of common gladiators.

Juvenal says that Acilius tried to make the Emperor believe that he was half-witted, or at least politically harmless, by condescending to fight wild beasts like a common gladiator.

103. See xvi. 31; cf. 'intonsi Catonis' Hor. Od. ii. 15. 11. Barbers were said to have been introduced into Rome from Sicily about the year 300 B.C.

104. **nec melior.** 'Rubrius did not look more cheerful, low as his birth may have been.' Rubrius Gallus was sent against the rebels in Spain, under Nero, and espoused Galba's cause. He is mentioned twice in Tacitus, Hist. ii. 51 and 99. The Scholiast asserts that he had an intrigue with Julia, the daughter of Titus.

105. **offensae.** This genitive is commonly called 'the genitive of accusation.' It is really a defining genitive, some one of the numerous law phrases, like 'crimine,' 'iudicio,' 'nomine,' or 'lege,' being understood. Brugman in Müller's Hdbch. cites Cic. De Off. ii. 51 'ne quem innocentem iudicio capitis arcessas:' and compares it with Cornif. i. 11. 18 'Teucer inimicum fratris capitis arcessit.' Analogy spread this use of this genitive more and more widely; Vergil talks about 'voti reus,' and Nepos has even 'voti damnari.'

106. **improbus** is applied to any one who exceeds due bounds: it is opposed to 'pudicus.' Here it is applied to one who exceeds the natural bounds of liberty allowed to speech; 'more impudent.'

107. **Montanus** was a noted gourmand: he is noticed by Tacitus, Hist. iv. 42. He is also mentioned in the Annals as 'Montanum detestanda carmina factitantem' xvi. 28.

abdomine. The word properly applies to swine. 'His paunch delayed him.'

108. **matutino.** He did not wait until the regular time, viz. the bath before dinner, to perfume himself.

109. The corpse was perfumed by the 'pollinctor' to avoid the natural smell and to preserve the body as long as possible. The body was exposed, in the case of rich families, for seven days. For the construction 'saevus aperire' cf. Hor. Ep. i. 15. 30 'Quaelibet in quemvis opprobria fingere saevus.'

110. **Pompeius,** possibly the Pompeius Silianus mentioned by Tac. Hist. ii. 86 as a spy and informer.

tenui, 'insinuating;' it is the word used by Vergil, Georg. i. 92, of the rain which makes its way into the earth.

112. **Fuscus.** Cornelius Fuscus, praefectus praetorio under Domitian, met his death in the Dacian war, 86–87 A.D. Tac. Hist. ii. 86 speaks of him as a warm supporter of Vespasian, and a regular Hotspur in war.

meditari means 'to think out,' 'compose the plan of,' as a warrior in repose would naturally do.

113. **Fabricius Veiento.** Spoken of in Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 50, as one who had libelled the senate and priests.

Catullo. L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, spoken of by Pliny, Ep. iv. 22. 5, as a man who had been rendered by his blindness pitiless and incapable of blushing.

116. **a ponte.** The bridges were the regular resort of beggars. Cf. Mart. xii. 32. 25 'haec sarcinarum pompa convenit ponti.' If Catullus had once been a beggar it must have been long before this, as he had since been a Roman governor and probably consul. Juvenal may mean that Catullus was no better than a pestering beggar from the bridge.

117. 'He was a worthy rival of those princes of beggars, the Aricians.' Aricia was on the high road from Rome to Puteoli; the beggars posted on the hill craved an alms, and if they received it, blew a kiss to the donors as they sped down the hill. Cf. Mart. ii. 19. 3.

119. He plays on the word **stupuit.** He was really *amazed* or *aghast* at the fish, for he admired it, taking it to be on the left, while it was really on the right.

121. **Cilicis,** 'a gladiator,' in the armour of his native country.

122. **pegma,** a machine whereby actors were raised from the floor into the air. The English word 'pageant' is derived from this: see Skeat s. v. **Velaria,** 'awnings.'

124. **Bellona,** the symbol of blood-thirstiness. Her gadfly pursued Io through the world. Cf. Ovid, Met. i. 725.

127. **Arviragus.** A British chieftain, not mentioned, however, by either Tacitus or Dio. The word has been supposed to be connected with *Ardriagh,* 'high king:' and Arthur is supposed to be another derivative from the same root.

128. **erectas in terga.** This strange accusative, where we should have expected an ablative, must mean 'backwards.' The **sudes** or 'palisades,' which would remind a Roman of his camp entrenchment, point towards the fish's tail.

hoc defuit, i. e. he seemed to know so much about the fish that it was surprising that he did not name its country and its age as he had told all besides.

130. **quidnam igitur.** The words of the president of the council.

conciditur, 'cut it up?' The use of the indicative implies that the answer must be plain, viz. *No.* Cf. line 28.

131. **alta.** That none of the fish's juices may be lost.

132. **Prometheus.** Some divine potter. Weidner aptly quotes Lucian, Prom. 2 *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χυτρέας καὶ ἰχνοποιοὺς καὶ πάντας ὅσοι πηλουργοὶ Προμηθέας ἀπεκάλουν.*

134. **sed.** 'But let this be a warning, Caesar, from this time forth, to run no more risks from lack of potters!'

137. **iam medias.** The 'iam' denotes that the midnights came upon them by surprise.

138. 'A fresh, unnatural appetite procured by drinking.' Others take **aliam famem** to mean 'and other unreal appetites produced by emetics.'

141. The best oysters were those from Circeii: 'his neque dulciora neque teneriora esse ulla compertum est' Pliny, N. H. xxxii. 6. 21 (§§ 60, 62). Next ranked the Lucrine, and last those from Rutupiae, Richborough.

143. 'He could actually tell whence came an **echinus** without tasting it at all.' The sea-urchin was much prized as an article of diet; cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 30.

145. **dux magnus.** The Emperor really was defeated by these tribes, but held a triumph none the less. Cf. Tac. Agricola 39 'Falsum e Germania triumphum egit emptis per commercia quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur.'

149. **pinna** seems to be a technical term referring to 'pinnatae literae,' in which bad news was announced, whereas good news was borne by a messenger with a spear bound with myrtle. Simcox quotes Statius, Silv. v. 1. 92, 93 'Omnia nam laetas pila attollentia frondes Nullaque famosa signatur lancea pinna.'

153. 'The handicraftsmen;' just as we use the word 'snob,' which properly means a bootmaker's apprentice. We have followed Mayor in printing the word with a capital letter, implying that it is used generically as a proper name denoting a class, much as we speak of 'Hodge and Dick.' Cf. Juvenal's previous use of Titius and Seius, iv. 13.

154. **L. Aelius Lamia** was put to death by Domitian: cf. Suet. 10. Horace addresses two Odes to him, viz. i. 26 and iii. 17, and this seems to be another of the numerous passages in which Juvenal has had Horace's lines running in his mind: cf. De Iuvenale Horatii imitatore, by Schwartz, where the whole subject is fully treated.

SATIRE V.

ON NIGGARDLY PATRONS AND THEIR PARASITES.

THERE is nothing to determine the date of this Satire, but from the style, which more distinctly recalls Horace, Satires lib. ii. 8, than any other of Juvenal's, and from the care with which allusions to Domitian are excluded, and examples of oppression or stupidity chosen from the times of Nero and Claudius, there is a slight probability that it is one of the poet's earliest, and was composed while Domitian was alive.

The Satire is an outburst of indignation against the professional diners out and hangers-on of the wealthy at Rome, who could condescend to sell their wit and sink their self-respect for a good dinner. We have a good description of such parasites in Plautus, Captivi i. iii. 1, and in a fragment preserved to us of Eupolis, in which the chorus of Κόλακες describe their policy; and specimens of their wit, such as it was, are preserved to us in Horace, Satires i. 5. 51–69, where Sarmentus and Cicirrus banter each other in a way which we can hardly deem witty. This

Satire affords us a good picture of the life of the millionaires at Rome, with their outward affectation of pristine Roman simplicity and 'gravitas,' and their private life of luxury and self-indulgence. For the sensuality described see Lecky's History of European Morals vol. i. ch. ii.

You must be the vilest of men if you can bear the life of a parasite, while there is a beggar's stand unoccupied on which you may squat and eat dog-cake, ll. 1–11. An invitation once in two months is considered ample return for all your arduous dancing of attendance, ll. 12–23. What a feast! You get sour and heady wine out of a cobbler's pot; he drinks the generous juice of the grape mellowed by centuries out of goblets plated with amber and studded with gems, ll. 24–49. For him the iced water served by the graceful Asiatic boy; for you the tepid draught handed carelessly by the sinister-looking and gaunt negro, ll. 50–66. Your host has the soft rolls of white bread; and you get the hard crusts that shine with age. Was it for that you trudged through hail and fog, leaving your wife's side? ll. 67-79. Note the difference of the fine cray-fish put before the lord; the paltry crab served to yourself; contrast his sauce of clear olive-oil with yours of stinking lamp-oil,—the mullet or lamprey the great man brings from Corsican or Sicilian waters, with your eel or pike that has fattened in the Roman drains, ll. 80–106. And let the rich man observe that no one wants him to be generous; we only wish him to observe the courtesy of equal fellowship at his meals, ll. 107–113.

Look again at the capon, the boar, the truffles; hear the patron's vaunt of wealth; watch the graces of the professional carver; and observe the strict etiquette that is enforced, ll. 113–127. No poor man can talk with his host on equal terms, 127–131. But become rich, and you are Virro's friend; be childless, and he in turn will be your flatterer; yet even if you have a large family, your wealth will purchase you consideration, ll. 132–145. Even to mushrooms and dessert will the distinction of ranks be preserved at that table, 146–155. Do you think all this is Virro's economy? First, he does it to enjoy the comedy of a disappointed parasite, and to watch your looks as you calculate whether a costly dish will hold out till it reaches you. He appraises you at your true value, a possible buffoon, ll. 156–173.

2. **quadra**, 'table,' as in Vergil, Aen. vii. 114.

3. **Sarmentus.** Plutarch (Ant. 59) tells us of a Sarmentus, a favourite of Augustus. Sarmentus was also the name of the opponent of Cicirrus in Horace, referred to on p. 126. The Scholiast, quoted by Heinrich, tells us of a Sarmentus who, by his wit, attained a fortune and the office of 'decuria quaestoria.' Elated by this, he appeared in the theatre as a Roman knight, on which the populace composed on him the following pasquinade:—

'Aliud scriptum habet Sarmentus, aliud populus voluerat.
Digna dignis: sic Sarmentus habeat crassas compedes—
Rustici, ne nihil agatis, aliquis Sarmentum alliget.'

iniquas, 'ill-assorted,' where Emperor and parasite eat together.

4. **Gabba**, a parasite mentioned by Quintilian vi. 3 and Mart. i. 41.

5. **quamvîs iurato.** The 'quamvis' goes closely with 'iurato.' 'However much you might be on your oath.' **frugalius**: used as the comparative of 'frugi,' which is proved by the Plautine expression 'frugi bonae' to be the dative of an old word 'frug:' so that the expression will mean 'for the good of.'

'If, Trebius, you are so degraded that you can bear to imitate a common parasite, no man would trust your oath.'

8. 'Say you are starving, surely you might beg rather than play the parasite! Is there no quay or bridge to give you a place? Is there no beggar's mat too short by half?' 'Dimidia brevior' might possibly mean 'torn in two,' and thus lacking one of its halves. Quays and bridges were known resorts for beggars, cf. iv. 115; and Weidner quotes Sen. Contr. i. 1..3 'Quis crederet iacentem supra crepidinem Marium aut fuisse consulem aut futurum?'

9. **tantine.** 'Is the degradation of the meal worth its price?' The expression = 'tantine est cena tam iniuriosa?' and the genitive is adjectival like that in 'gratum litus amoeni secessus' in Sat. iii. 4.

10. For the **cum possit honestius illic** of the MSS. some editors have adopted the reading 'possis cum honestius illic.' The present reading seems satisfactory—**ieiuna** must be pressed. 'Is hunger so starved as this, when it might with more self-respect shiver and shake on the quay and munch the refuse of dog biscuit?'

12–23. 'The score of gratitude due from your patron is wiped out by a single meal, and for this you are willing to undergo any inconvenience.'

12. **fige**, 'impress on your heart;' stronger than 'pone.'

13. 'You receive payment in full for all your long services in the past; no thanks are due beyond.'

14. **rex**, 'your patron;' as we might say, 'the great man.'

inputat, 'sets it down' 'counts it against you.'

17. **culcita.** The 'imus locus imi lecti,' called the 'locus libertini.' The host, as Simcox remarks, would fill up the lowest couch, on which he lay himself, last, and therefore the discourtesy would be all the more pointed. Weidner refers to Petronius, 38; Plaut. Stich. 492; and to Lucian, Somn. 9, where Eucrates tells Mikyllus that he is to hold himself in readiness to come, and to wash himself thoroughly, so as to be fit to take the place of any of the regular guests who might be indisposed.

19. **Trebius.** The name of the parasite, which, as Weidner notices, was a good Italian name. Cf. Livy xxiii. 1, where a Trebius is mentioned as having given up his native town Compsa to Hannibal.

20. **ligulas**, 'neglecting his shoe-buckles:' *ligula* is a variant for 'lingua,' *ἡ γλῶσσα τῶν ὑποδημάτων*. Weidner interprets the word as

the breakfast spoons with which the Romans ate their early breakfast or 'ientaculum;' and so would construe 'neglecting his breakfast:' but this seems fanciful, though the word is to be so construed in Mart. xiv. 120.

21. **peregerit**, 'shall have gone through their round of visits.'

22. 'When the stars are yet fading, or, at even an earlier hour, when the Bear is seen wheeling round the Pole,' i. e. just before the stars begin to fade.

23. **Boötes** is commonly called 'piger,' or, as in Homer, Od. v. 272 *ὀψὲ δύων*. Cf. Ausonius, Eclogarium 'Serus in alta Conditur Oceani ripa cum luce Boötes.' Simcox takes the second alternative to refer to the Autumn season, when Winter is setting in; as Boötes sets on the 27th of October. But that the time of night is intended to be referred to is clear from Statius, Theb. iii. 683 (quoted by Mayor). **pigri**, in any case, refers to the length of time he takes to disappear beneath the horizon, owing to the fact that he sets longitudinally.

24–106. 'And what a meal it is when you have it! and to what degradation does it not expose you!' Lines 24–79 refer more especially to the 'gustatio,' or first part of the meal.

24. **vinum quod sucida**. A passage in Varro, De Re Rustica ii. 11. 272, is referred to as explaining 'lana sucida.' He explains that sheep begin to sweat in the spring season, whence 'Sudore recens lana tonsa sucida appellata est; tonsas recentes eodem die perungunt vino et oleo.' From this passage and from Plin. xxix. 9 it would appear that bad wine was mixed with oil as a fomentation for the sheep after shearing, and applied on wool. Even the 'sucida lana' would object to have to absorb such stuff.

25. **de conviva**. 'From a guest you will see him pass into a maddened fanatic.' For this use of 'de' cf. vii. 197.

26. **iurgia**; 'bickerings,' instead of the 'promulsis,' are the prelude, form the only *entrées*, and give the keynote of what is to follow. Cf. Verg. Georg. iii. 234 'ad pugnam proludit:' also Cicero Divin. in Caec. § 47, where *prolusio* is opposed to *pugna* (H.N.).

28. The 'libertini,' or regular retainers, would look with jealousy on the interloping parasites, and the jealousy shows itself in actual blows in which the cups are used as weapons. Cf. Hor. Od. i. 17. 1 'Natis in usum laetitiae scyphis Pugnare Thracum est.'

29. **Saguntina**. The Saguntine ware was famous. Pliny's testimony to it (xxxv. 12. 46) need mean no more than that it was solid and durable: it seems unlikely that vile wine would have been put in costly jars and given to these parasites.

30. **ipse**, 'the master,' *αὐτός*: cf. Catullus iii. 7 'suamque norat *Ipsam* tam bene quam puella matrem.'

capillato. Cf. iv. 103.

diffundere is the technical term for 'bottling off' from the 'dolia' into the 'amphorae,' or 'cadi,' which were then corked and pitched.

32. **cardiaco**, 'who needs a cordial;' *καρδία* is used in Greek for 'the stomach:' cf. Thuc. ii. 49 *καὶ ὅποτε εἰς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι*.

33. **cras.** 'To-morrow he will change his brand, but it will be for one equally old and choice.' For both Alban and Setine wines were considered very choice: see Hor. Od. iv. 11. 2 and Mart. vi. 86. 1. 2.

35. **fuligine.** The 'amphorae' were placed in an upper room through which the smoke passed, which was supposed to mellow them. Cf. Hor. Od. iii. 8. 10.

36. **Paetus Thrasea** perished under Nero for his love of liberty: Tac. Ann. xvi. 21. His stepson, Helvidius Priscus, was banished from Italy, ib. xvi. 13, and was executed under Vespasian, Dio lxvi. 12. 'The selfish aristocrat drinks for his own pleasure daily what the grand champions of Roman liberty drank only on the birthdays of those whom they delighted to honour.' It was customary among the Romans to keep the birthdays of distinguished men. Thus Domitian had Salvius Cocceianus executed because he kept the birthday of his uncle Otho; Suet. Dom. 10.

38. 'Virro's cups are encased in amber or studded with beryl.' The Heliades, Phaethon's sisters, were turned into poplars, whence tears exuded which were hardened into amber, 'Inde fluunt lacrimae, stillataque sole rigescunt De ramis electra novis' Ov. Met. ii. 364.

crusta here = 'poculum crustatum,' 'in relief;' the *crusta* is of amber.

40. Mart. xiv. 108 'Quae non sollicitus teneat servetque minister Sume Saguntino pocula ficta luto.'

42. 'Pardon me—that jasper is considered valuable from its brightness.' The words of the 'custos.' **praeclara** is a predicate.

43. 'Virro has gems which can boast of as old a family history as any aristocrat; gems worn by Aeneas, whose graces won him Dido's preference over Iarbas.' The reference is to Verg. Aen. iv. 261 'Atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva Ensis erat.' It is a marked characteristic of Juvenal that he often expresses names by a periphrasis appealing to some literary reminiscence; cf. vi. 7.

46. 'The cobbler of Beneventum' is Vatinius; cf. Tac. Ann. xv. 34 'Vatinius inter foedissima eius aulae portenta fuit, sutrinae tabernae alumnus, corpore detorto,' etc. A kind of ugly calix or goblet with four spouts was probably called after him 'calix Vatinianus.'

47. **nasorum**, genitive of quality.

48. The calix is broken so hopelessly that it can never fetch anything except as old glass, which was changed by hucksters for sulphur matches; cf. Martial i. 41. 3.

50. **decocta**, water boiled and then artificially cooled by snow: an invention of Nero's. Plin. N. H. xxxi. 3. 23. Cf. Mart. ii. 85, v. 642, etc.

51. This verse is omitted by some editors, as by Heinrich, as unnecessary and feeble.

52. **cursor Gaetulus.** 'A Berber outrider' pressed into the service as a waiter for the day.

54. To meet an Ethiopian was a bad omen, as we are expressly told by Plutarch, Brutus xlviii. ad fin.; and a bad omen seen at night, in the weird moonlight, would be more ghastly than in the day.

55. The Via Latina led from the Porta Capena and crossed the Tuscan hill.

56. 'He gives more for his pet cup-bearer, "the Rose of Asia," than all the income of an old Roman king.' Mayor quotes Plin. H. N. vii. 56, who mentions that Antonius when triumvir bought, for 200,000 sesterces, two handsome pages.

59. **frivola**, 'chattels;' 'frivola sunt proprie vasa fictilia quassa' Fest. p. 90. We should have expected some word signifying revenues.

quod cum ita sit. '*And since* his slaves are so costly and have such airs when you are thirsty, look out for your Moorish Ganymede,' i.e. the *cursor*. The words **nescit ... supercilio** seem to be a parenthetical clause.

The **puer** is the Flos Asiae.

62. **ille**, the 'cursor.'

65. **poscas** and **recumbas** are in the subjunctive mood because the clause is virtually in the oratio obliqua.

67. **ecce.** 'Here is another who grumbles as he presents you bread which looks as if the corn which made it had never seen a mill.' The corn is not merely mouldy but also lumpy—**solidae farinae.**

70. **niveus.** Hehn (translated by Stallybrass) notices that Goethe remarks the fondness of the Romance nations for *white* bread. 'Schwartze Mädchen, weisses Brod' (Soldatentrost).

72. **artopta** = 'artoptes.' The slave baked the bread and served it out. He had both kinds of bread in baskets handed round at the same time, 'but woe to you if you lay hands on the fine bread! Keep your respect for the grand Greek baker!'

73. **improbulum**, 'a little forward.'

superest, 'there is one behind;' probably referring to another slave.

74. **vis tu**, 'be good enough.' A rather imperious form of bidding.

78. **Esquiliae**, called 'aquosae' by Propertius iv. 8. 1.

80–145. The different 'fercula' of the banquet. 'The master gets a crayfish and you get a crab. What a fine long body has yon crayfish which parts the dish in two! it is garnished with sprouts and turns up its tail contemptuously at the guests.'

84. 'You have a common crab with half an egg jammed in on either side.'

85. **feralis cena**, 'a true funeral meal,' viz. the 'novemdialis cena' placed on the grave the ninth day after burial, in which eggs formed the chief ingredient, as they were deemed to have a purifying power; cf. vi. 518.

86. **olebit.** 'Oleo' is one of a class of intransitive verbs used with an accusative after them, which is merely an extension of the cognate use. Thus we have in Plaut. Most. i. 3. 120 'quid olant nescias,' and '**ceram**,' 'crocum,' etc., 'olere' in Cicero.

'The master has the best Venafran oil on his fish: you get cabage and lamp-oil, such as some Moorish grandee imported from Numidia: oil so foul that no Roman will bathe with a Moor who uses it.'

89, 90. **Micipsa** and **Boccar** are the names of Numidian princes, and are used as we might speak of 'Pompey' and 'Sambo.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 124 'ungor olivo Non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis.'

subvexit, 'has brought up the Tiber.'

92–106. The second course. 'The master gets a mullet from Corsica or Sicily, and a lamprey; you get a wretched eel from the river.'

93. **Tauromenitanae rupes.** Naxus, on the east coast of Sicily, now called Taormina; celebrated for its Roman remains.

94. **dum**, usually constructed with the present after a clause containing a verb in the past tense, when the actions spoken of are contemporaneous. Cf. iii. 10.

97. 'The provinces, then, have to supply our kitchen fires: 'tis thence that the fortune-hunter buys his dainties for the widow Aurelia, who sells them again.'

100, 101. These lines are mock-heroic.

104. **Tiberinus**, probably a 'lupus' or pike.

et ipse, home-bred, like the eel.

106. **crypta**, 'a subterranean drain' into the Subura.

107–113. A break in which Juvenal gives vent to his indignation. 'No one asks you to give munificently like the patrons of the last generation; *then* the glory of munificence was its own reward: we ask only that you should remember that while you are a millionaire you are also a citizen. You need not invite guests merely to insult them; avoid this, and be as luxurious and as stingy as you please.'

109. **Seneca** and **Piso** are celebrated as munificent patrons by Martial also, xii. 36. 8. Piso seems to have been the ringleader in the conspiracy against Nero referred to by Tacitus, Ann. xv. 48. **Cotta** is probably Aurelius Cotta mentioned in Tacitus, Ann. xiii. 34.

114–124. The third course. 'The master gets a huge goose's liver, a fat capon, a boar, and truffles; the client has the gratification of seeing him eat them.'

114. **iecur.** The geese were artificially fattened on figs. Pliny, N. H. xxvii. has a curious chapter about geese and the method of preparing them for table. The Strasburg *pâtés de foie gras* are celebrated at the present day. It is noteworthy that the word for liver in the modern Romance languages is derived from 'ficatum;' as the French *foie*; Italian, *fegato*.

115. **altilis**, any fatling (from 'alo'), specialised into 'a fat capon.'

Meleager was the chief of the heroes who slew the wild boar of Calydon. Cf. Ov. Met. viii. 270, and Swinburne's Atalanta in Calydon.

117. Pliny, N. H. xix. 37, however, tells us that truffles grew best in autumn, especially if there was thunder.

118. **Alledius.** An Alledius Severus is mentioned by Tacitus, Ann. xii. 7, as an eques Romanus. Here he is spoken of as a glutton, who says, 'Never mind sending us corn from Libya (which was, with Egypt, one of the main corn supplies of Rome) so that you send us truffles.'

120. The **structor**, as we see from vii. 184, was, strictly speaking, the arranger of the courses. Here he is the carver as well. He has learned his art in a regular carving school, and uses appropriate flourishes and gesticulations. Cf. vii. 136 and Becker, Gallus iii. 201; also Mart. x. 48. 15.

121. **chironomunta**, a Greek word for a Greek fashion. As we might say, 'jouant des mains.'

125–145. 'Now hear the insulting way in which the poor man is treated by the rich.' No friendship is possible between them.

127. **tamquam**, used, as commonly in silver Latinity, in the sense of 'on the ground of,' not in the sense of 'as if.' Thus the passage means, 'You must not presume to open your mouth *on the strength* of being a libertine, and so having equally with the free-born Roman three names (the praenomen, the nomen, the cognomen).'

129. **usque adeo**, 'so completely.'

132. Lewis compares Martial i. 104 'Si dederint Superi decies mihi millia centum, Qualiter o vivam, quam large, quamque beate.'

quadringenta, a knight's income, as we might say, 'the magic four hundred thousand.'

133. The **homuncio**, or 'mannikin,' seems opposed to 'deus,' 'if a god, or even the veriest mannikin, would give you this.' Cf. Ter. Eunuch. 590 'At quem deum! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit. Ego homuncio hoc non facerem.'

quantus ex nihilo. Possibly, as Weidner thinks, a reminiscence of Lucret. N. D. i. 150 'Nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus unquam.'

135. **frater** is used as an expression of affection as is 'pater' in Hor. Ep. i. 6. 54. In Don Quixote the duchess calls Sancho Panza 'hermano,' 'brother,' as Keightley notices.

136. **ilibus**, 'the loin.' Mayor quotes Martial x. 45. 4.

137. **vos estis**, ''tis you, the cash, and he, who are the real brothers. But if you would become a true patron, and a patron's patron, you must boast no necessary heir.'

138. A parody on Verg. Aen. iv. 328, where Dido says, 'si quis mihi parvulus aula Luderet Aeneas.'

140. 'We have no good friends if we have a wife and children.'

141. **Mygale** is taken by Weidner as the name of a concubine; so that he takes the meaning to be, 'So now, your Mycale may have as many children as you please: the patron will fondle them to flatter you,' as he knows that they cannot inherit. But according to this view surely *sed* would not be the word wanted, but some word like 'ergo.' It seems better therefore to interpret, 'But as it is, your low-born wife may have as many children as you please; and Virro, knowing that he has nothing to expect from you, will condescend to fondle them.'

143. **viridem thoraca**, 'armilausiam prasinam ut simiae' Schol. It seems to have been 'a green waistcoat.' Weidner quotes Lucil. ii. 17 'Ricae, thoracia, mitrae.'

144. **minimasque nuces**, 'the tiny nuts' with which the ancient, like

the modern boys played. Cf. Augustus, 'animi laxandi causa, nucibus ludebat cum pueris minutis' Suet. Aug. 83 (quoted by Lewis).

146–155. The dessert.

147. **Claudius** was poisoned by Agrippina with a 'boletus medicatus' Tac. Ann. xii. 6. Cf. Mart. i. 21 'Quid dignum tanto tibi ventre gulaque precabor? Boletum qualem Claudius edit edas.'

150. Here seems to be a *double entente*; for the words might mean 'whose very scent is as good as a feast,' and 'whose scent is all you are likely to get,' though in that case *tu* would have been naturally added.

151. Referring to Homer, Od. vii. 112 sq.

152. **sororibus Afris**, the Hesperides. He sneers at the Greek tradition by calling its subject 'the negro sisters.'

153. 'You enjoy a rotten apple such as the Praetorian soldiers give a monkey which they have dressed up to look like a comrade.' The 'agger' seems to be the Servian wall extending from the 'Porta Collina' to the 'Porta Esquilina.' Behind this, between the Porta Viminalis and Esquilina, lay the Praetorian camp, and the soldiers amused themselves by dressing up a monkey in a helmet and arming him with a shield and setting him on a goat and teaching him to throw a spear. Some have interpreted the **qui tegitur** to mean a raw recruit who learns his drill from a serjeant contemptuously dubbed **Capella**. But the interpretation here given seems the most probable, and the objection which has been taken to it that **ab equo iaculari** is not Latin, and that 'ex capella' would be used instead of 'a capella,' is met by the two quotations given by Lewis and others: Prop. iii. 11. 13 'Ausa ferox ab equo quondam oppugnare sagittis Maeotis Danaum Penthesilea rates,' and Ovid, A. A. 210 'Telaque ab averso quae iacit hostis equo.'

157. **hoc agit.** 'He does it on purpose:' 'hoc agere' is a phrase. Mayor quotes Sen. Ep. 100 'eloquentiam velut umbram, non hoc agens, trahit.' Cf. also Cic. Tusc. Disp. xi.

comoedia. Such as were commonly given at feasts; cf. Pliny, Ep. ix. 17. He thinks the farce of the 'crying stomach' most humorous.

163. **quis enim.** 'Who, if he were born wealthy or even decently off, could be so utterly destitute as to put up with Virro twice?' Pliny, N. H. xxxi. 1, tells us that a son who had killed an enemy 'in praetextae annis' was presented with a 'bulla aurea:' 'unde mos bullae duravit, ut eorum qui equo meruissent filii insigne id haberent, ceteri lorum.'

The **nodus** is a leather strap to which the **signum**, the so-called 'bulla scortea,' was fastened.

169. **stricto.** 'Your bread is ready for action, like a drawn sword.'

171. 'You will one day come down to play the part of a regular "stupidus" on the stage.' The stupid fellow who was knocked about was one of the standing characters of Roman comedy. He was represented as closely shaved. Cf. Arnob. vii. 33 (quoted by Weidner). The parasite was a special recipient of such knocks. Cf. Plaut. Captivi I.

i. 20 'Et hic quidem, hercle, qui nisi colaphos perpeti Potis parasitus frangique ollas in caput.'

172. **quandoque**, 'one day.' The indefinite 'que' added to 'quando' used in its temporal sense.

173. **flagra**, the slave's punishment. Cf. Horace, Sat. i. 3. 119 'Ne scutica dignum horribili sectere flagello.'

LIBER TERTIUS.

SATIRE VII.

ON THE MISERY OF AUTHORS.

THIS Satire is descriptive of the miserable state of authors in Juvenal's time. Friedländer, in his Sittengeschichte iii. 413, points out that there seems to be a want of connection between the Introduction (1–21) and the body of the poem. In the Introduction we are told that hope has arisen for the poets since Caesar took them under his patronage. The Satire speaks of the influence of the great patrons of letters, the Maecenases, etc. as past and gone. Again the Satire speaks of men of letters in all branches; the Introduction of poets only. Hence as Trajan did encourage rhetoricians and professors, while Hadrian was a poet himself and a poet's patron, he infers that the Introduction was an afterthought and added by Juvenal under Hadrian's reign. The other and more probable alternative is to assume that the Caesar referred to is Trajan, who is spoken of by Pliny (Paneg. 47) as having given breath and blood and fatherland to studies. Professor Nettleship believes that the Caesar referred to is Domitian, who seems spasmodically to have patronised literary men: and it is certainly true that many of the allusions in the rest of the Satire, such as those to Statius, Quintilian, and even Palaemon, fall into his reign. Domitian died in 81, Nerva in 96, and Trajan in 117 A.D. and was succeeded by Hadrian. 96/98

The hopes and possibilities of our studies lie in Caesar alone. None but he has cared to cheer the Latin muses when real poets have had to turn bath-keepers, bakers, auctioneers. If you cannot get your bread by writing, you must needs come down to such trades as these; this is better than swearing to falsehoods, as is the way of our new aristocracy, ll. 1–16.

But this sad state is past and gone. Poets may take heart, their prince is seeking out the worthy; to seek other patron were lost time; our rich men praise learning, as children admire peacocks: 'tis their fancy: meantime the age for action and useful work is passing by, and a poet's old age is sad and hungry, ll. 17–35.

The man you call your patron thinks he is a far better poet than you

and poses as such: he counts on your pride preventing you from attempting to borrow of a fellow-poet; but he will extend you such contemptuous patronage as lending you a dirty old hall and a claque for your recitations, ll. 36–47. And yet we persevere, ploughing the barren sand! You can't give up the longing to write: 'tis an ingrained unhealthy malady which ages even as you age. But an inspired poet is only made by an easy and cheerful mind. Horace had supped when he cried out Euhoe! A genius must not have ever to be thinking of buying a blanket. Had Vergil been without a slave and a decent roof to his house, the snakes would have fallen from his Fury's head: her trumpet would fail to thrill us: and yet we ask that our poor poet should rise to the height of the buskin of the old time, when his masterpiece is produced at the expense of his dishes and cloak! The proud aristocrat Numitor, has, poor fellow, not the means to aid his friend in need; though he has plenty to keep a mistress and a tame lion: but then a lion, of course, eats less than a poet! Lucanus had wealth and may be content with fame, but what is fame to poor Serranus and Saleius? Poor Statius is the darling of the town; he brings down the benches with applause, but after all has to starve if Paris will not buy his play. Yes, Paris is the man! He can give away even military posts. Your actors who play popular parts can make praefects and captains! But pity your poet who has to write the parts for these to play. There are no great patrons now: none to reward the pale cheek and the student's fast, ll. 48–97.

But is your historian better paid? He is half ruined by the paper alone, and yet he would get more if he were to read out the public chronicles, ll. 98–104.

Lawyers get just as little for all their fuss and all their lies. The incomes of a hundred lawyers about equal the harvest reaped by a single driver in the circus. After all your roaring and all your arguments before a clown as iudex, you may receive a flitch of bacon, or some onions, or poor wine. Say you get even an aureus, the attorney gets his share of that. An Aemilius gets the full fee allowed by the law, because he is rich. Nay, it pays to hire fine clothes and rings to plead in, for lavish Rome is most lavish to those that have. You must go to the provinces to practise if you set a high value on your tongue, ll. 105–149.

Do you teach rhetoric? You must have nerves of iron to sit and hear your class murdering tyrants in cadence! 'Tis the same to-day, to-morrow and the next day; 'tis the monotony that kills. They all want to learn, but none want to pay, and when you demand the fee, they plead that they have learnt nothing. 'Oh, of course the teacher is in fault, because the boy is a dullard; I can hear his "Hannibal" even now! Ask any sum you please and I'll pay it down if only the boy's father may have to hear what I have had to hear and as often.' So say

the teachers and turn in disgust to the bar. But if they will take my advice they will seek some other profession. The music master gets more. He has baths, porticoes, dining chambers with marble pillars, butlers, cooks. Quintilian though was rich? Yes, but that was not through his fees, he was a lucky man, and a lucky man gets on *quand même*. Most men weary of the teacher's chair. Good were the old times when the teacher was looked on as parent. Nowadays the schoolmaster gets flogged by his own pupils, ll. 215–229.

Your teacher of grammar gets even less: the pedagogue nibbles his morsel off that little, and the paymaster of the rich man's household will take his percentage. You must bargain with him to see how little he will take and how much you can get, like a shopman selling quilts. And you will probably have to go into court before you get anything, ll. 215–230.

But pray be exacting enough, parents! See that every teacher is an Admirable Crichton, and can tell you all the facts of history useful or useless. Ay, and require him to be moral too, and to inculcate good morality into the boys, difficult as it may be; 'and at the end of the year I'll give my ideal teacher as much as the editor ludorum gives as extra prize at the ludi circenses to the successful driver,' ll. 230–243.

1. 'Both the hopes *of* poetry and the means *for* pursuing it lie with Caesar.' If the view above noticed is correct this will refer to Trajan.

studia, used generally for 'liberal arts,' is post-classical.

3. **respexit**, 'has looked with favour on;' cf. Verg. Ec. i. 28 'Libertas quae sera tamen respexit inertem.'

4. **balneolum**, were making the experiment of renting a petty bath at some country town like Gabii or a bakehouse at Rome—pursuits ignoble to any Roman of the old school, but especially to a poet.

6. **praecones**. The 'praeco' was at once a public crier and a maintainer of order in a public court or meeting. Horace, Ep. i. 7. 55, speaks of their station as proverbially low. Cf. also Mart. iv. 5. 4, v. 56.

7. 'Clio turns her back for very hunger on the Muse's spring on Helicon and settles in the auction rooms.' The 'atria auctionaria' were private auction rooms; cf. Cicero, De Leg. Agr. i. § 7, who speaks of them as kept by men of low character; and again, Pro Quinct. § 12 he speaks of the 'atria Lacinia.'

8. **umbra**, the 'poet's grove,' referred to by Mart. ix. 85. 3, and Tac. Dial. 9; possibly with a further reference to the 'vita umbratilis' of the professed student.

9. **ames**, 'you must be content with'—ἀγαπᾶν δεῖ. For this use of 'amare' cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 3. 234 and Plin. Paneg. xxxi. 4 'Nilus amet alveum suum.'

Machaera. Probably some auctioneer of the day; possibly, as Weidner thinks, the name μάχαιρα has reference to *cutting up* and

distributing the goods at auction, and is meant to recal such words as 'sectio' and 'sector.'

10. **commissa auctio.** Variously interpreted. Mayor, following Grangaeus, takes it to be a metaphor from the gladiatorial school. Two gladiators were 'commissi,' 'matched' against each other. The expression would thus be equivalent to 'the battle of the auction room.' Weidner takes it more simply as 'the auction goods entrusted by the people to the praeco for sale,' and this seems the simplest interpretation. Lewis takes it to mean 'the auction of confiscated goods,' 'fisco adiudicatorum,' referring to Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 10, and to the law writers. But, as we have seen, these auction rooms were private, and the sale of confiscated goods would be public.

11. **oenophorum,** 'a wine jar.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 6. 109 'pueri lasanum portantes oenophorumque;' and Persius, Sat. v. 140.

armaria, 'cupboards,' Fr. 'armoires.'

12. Poor productions of poor poets of the day, who wrote on the commonplaces of tragedy. For the story of Alcithoe see Ov. Met. v. 1. 40; for Thebes, Mart. xiv. 1; for Tereus, Ov. Met. vi. 424.

13. 'Even this is better than perjuring yourself for pay after the manner of our new aristocracy from Asia.' The senate was largely recruited from the provinces by Vespasian, and in Trajan's time a Moorish grandee, Q. Lucius Quietus, was actually raised to the consulship. The Romans looked upon these new dignitaries in much the same way as an English M.P. would regard an Indian prince who might be ennobled and take his seat in the House of Lords.

15. This verse is generally admitted to be spurious, (1) because the Cappadoces and Bithyni would be included in the Asiani; (2) because the first syllable of Bithyni appears to be elsewhere used long. Mayor reads—

'faciant equites Asiani
Quanquam et Cappadoces: faciant equites Bithyni,' etc.

which assumes that Juvenal confused Bithynia and Galatia.

16. Those which New Gaul (Galatia) sends over sea in the 'catasta.' This was a large cage or frame in which slaves were exhibited to show them off: it seems to have been worked by some machinery: cf. Stat. Silv. ii. 1. 72 'Non te barbaricae versabat turbo catastae.' Tibull. iii. 60 calls it 'barbara.' Cf. Sat. i. 111 and Mart. x. 76. In the year 278 certain Gaulish tribes left Brennus and were invited into Asia by Nikomedes of Bithynia, and settled in Gallo-Graecia by Attalus I. about 230 B. C.

18. 'But now no true poet who weds eloquent words to tuneful numbers will be forced to go a begging.'

19. **laurumque momordit,** as did the Delphic priestess.

20. **hoc agite,** 'attention!' This was originally a sacrificial phrase pronounced by the priest before sacrificing the victim to call the attention of the spectators; cf. Plut. Num. 14. It then came to be used generally for 'give your best attention,' 'persevere.' Cf. Cic. Tusc. i.

§ 46 'quibus tamen sentire nihil queat mens, nisi id agat et adsit.' The opposite phrase was 'alias res agere.' Cf. v. 157 and note.

23. 'And if with this view the parchment with its saffron-coloured binding is being filled by you.' **membrana** = 'pugillares membranacei,' 'leaves of parchment bound up in wooden boards or binding.' Munro, in Mayor, takes the passage to mean 'the parchment is filled by its yellow page,' i. e. by one page getting filled after another, the 'quaternion' of parchment is filled. **tabella**, according to this view, will mean a 'page' in our sense of the word. In this way it is used by Martial i. 3. 3 'quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis.'

25. **Veneris marito**, Vulcan, the god of fire.

Telesinus, used also in Martial vi. 50 of a poor man.

26. **pertunde**, 'get them devoured.'

27. **vigilata proelia**, 'the battle pieces which have cost you your sleep.' 'Vigilare' in the active is followed by a quasi cognate accusative, like 'olere' in the phrase 'olere lanternam.'

29. **venias**. 'That you may come forward a worthy recipient of the ivy and of the meagre image,' i.e. that you may be worthy of your meagre image being set up in Augustus' Palatine library, but, if it is an exact copy, it will be emaciated.

32. **Iunonis avem**, 'the peacock.' Ov. Met. xv. 385 'Iunonis volucrem quae cauda sidera portat.'

sed. 'For a time you might bear with this, *but* the time is passing away when one might have gone to sea, donned the casque, or grasped the spade.'

34. **tunc**. 'Then old age, at once poetical and penniless, loathes the Muse which inspired it.'

36. **artes**. 'Now hear the rich man's tricks. To avoid subscribing to you, he poses as a fellow-poet and trusts to the maxim "Clericus clericum non decimat," "dog does not eat dog."'

38. 'He gives the palm to Homer over himself, only because Homer wrote 1000 years before him;' the very praise which Horace refused to acknowledge as reasonable, Ep. ii. 1. 20.

39. 'So entirely does he pose as your fellow-poet, that he lends you at a pinch a cobweb-covered room wherein to recite, such as he might expect you to lend him.' **macula**, the origin of the French 'maille,' is used for the meshes of a net, and seems to refer specially to cobwebs.

41. **longe ferrata**, probably 'yon house which has been for long barred up,' 'longe' being used for 'diu,' as in Hor. Od. ii. 23 'Neque in terris morabor Longius.'

42. 'The door of which looks like the gate of a beleaguered town; it has been so closely barred up.'

43. 'He is wide awake enough to make you a present of the use of his freedmen as claqueurs, for they cost him nothing, and he will make his courtiers too join the claque.'

45. 'Not one of your millionaires will give the rent of the benches, or of the gallery rising behind, supported by beams from above.'

47. 'Or of the orchestra which is laid out with chairs—to be returned.' The orchestra, with the Greeks, was occupied by the chorus; with the Romans, who had no chorus, it was the seat of honour for magistrates and senators.

50. **nam si.** 'Our efforts are vain, *for* even should a man tear himself away from his degrading slavery, *still* custom holds us in its halter.'

52. **cacoethes,** 'a malignant malady, which is now become chronic in your diseased heart.'

53. 'Scribblers, then, exist as the result of an unhealthy impulse:—*but* a true bard (**vatem**) you cannot have without the freedom from care which a competence gives.'

publica, 'common place,' such as all may claim to share. Cf. Ov. Art. Am. iii. 479 'sermonis publica forma placet.'

vena: see Hor. A. P. 409.

54. **expositum,** 'hackneyed,' 'long since on view.'

deducere, a metaphor from spinning, 'to draw out.' Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 225, where 'tenui deducta poemata filo' seem opposed to serious or elaborated verses.

55. **communi moneta.** 'Moneta,' properly applied to the temple of Juno Moneta, whence our word 'mint,' German 'Münze.' Here it is used of the 'stamp' on the coin.

57. **acerbi.** Adjectives are in silver Latinity used with increasing frequency as substantives, especially those expressing abstract ideas such as 'honestum,' 'iustum,' 'immensum.'

60. 'Cheerless poverty,'—for, as Goethe says 'Lust und Liebe sind die Fittige zu grossen Thaten' Iph. auf Taur. Act ii. Sc. 1.

62. **Euhoe.** The allusion is to Hor. Od. ii. 19. 5.

64. **dominis Cirrae.** 'Apollo and Bacchus.' Cirra was the port of Delphi; Nysa, a village near Helicon, where Bacchus was said to have been born.

feruntur, 'career free,' as in a Bacchanalian revel.

66. 'To write an epic in the grand style, a poet must possess grand thoughts such as are inconsistent with poverty.'

68. **Rutulum,** Turnus. The **Erinys** is Alecto, whom Juno sent to goad Turnus to madness. See Verg. Aen. ~~iii. 323 sq.~~ VII 445 ff.

70. **caderent.** We should have expected 'cecidissent,' but the mind is made to connect the present and the past. 'If Vergil were alive and starving, the hydras would fall.' Several similar instances are given by Madvig, § 347. Cf. also Cic. Pro Cluent. § 80, 'at tum si dicerem non audirer,' 'if I were speaking at the time I am referring to as I speak now;' cf. also Hor. Od. iv. 6. 16, where 'falleret' would naturally be 'fefellisset.'

72. 'Can we ask that Rubrenus (some poetaster of the day) should be equal to the great tragedians of old, when his Atreus, by the cost of its production, put his very plates and cloak in pawn?'

74. **Numitor**; a Roman of family. 'He has nothing for his friend,

but can buy a lion perfectly (**iam**) tamed.' Mayor quotes, on the taming of lions, Pliny H. N. viii. 21.

78. **nimirum.** '*No doubt* the poet costs more to keep than the lion.'

79. 'A Lucan, who was rich, may well be content with poetical fame; he had a marble villa and gardens.' This refers to M. Annaeus Lucanus, nephew of Seneca, who inherited a large fortune from his father, who was a 'procurator' or imperial agent for the collection of revenues.

80. **Serranus.** Unknown.

Saleio. Saleius Bassus, called by Tacitus, Dial. 10 'absolutissimum poetam.' **tenuis** must here mean 'poor;' though Mart. x. 103. 5 applies the epithet to Catullus in the sense of 'delicate.'

81. Montaigne, in his essay on Glory, quotes this passage, and works out the thought.

83. Papinius **Statius.** The court poet of Domitian, popular alike with those in power and with the people. Still, even he had to fly from Rome and retire to Naples, his native city. He used to recite his poems before publishing them, as was the custom of those days.

86. **fregit subsellia.** Cf. i. 13. 'He has brought down the benches by the energy of his recitation.'

87. **Agave.** The text of the 'Agave,' a play founded on the myth of the sister of Semele, belonging to the Bacchic mythology. **intactam,** 'virgin,' i. e. before it has been exhibited.

Paris was an Egyptian pantomime (Mart. xi. 13. 3 called 'sales Nili') put to death for an intrigue with the Empress Domitia. Statius seems to have written pieces for him to act. Great actors assumed the names of their predecessors, and thus this Paris is thought by Friedländer to be the successor of a celebrated actor of the same name under Nero. There is a wonderful consensus in the lives of the scholiasts cited by Jahn, to the effect that these words were the cause of the poet's banishment, 'erat tum in deliciis aulae histrio . . . statim per honorem militiolae quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema Aegypti parte tendentis.'

88. 'Your actor, too, can give commissions in the army.' The prefects of a cohort, or tribunes of a legion, were originally soldiers who had served for some years. But Augustus introduced the practice of giving direct commissions to young men of good family, who began their military service with the military tribuneship and were called 'tribuni laticlavii.' The number of aspirants to these posts was very great, so that after six months' service, 'tribunatus semestris,' they retired into private life with the rank of equites. **semenstri auro** then will mean 'the golden knight's ring gained by merely six months' service.'

91. 'Do you care to pay court to great men like Camerinus of the gens Sulpicia (viii. 38), or to Barea Soranus (iii. 116)?'

93. 'Still, you need bear no malice against a poet who writes for ballet dancers, for the great patrons of old are for ever gone.' 'Haud' commonly negatives a single word, and is more commonly used with adjectives and adverbs than with verbs. It seems in early Latin to have formed

an integral part of the word with which it was connected, like the Greek privative particle α. See Sigismund 'Dissertatio de haud negationis apud priscos scriptores usu' (Jena, 1883).

94. **Maecenas**, Vergil's patron, has become proverbial for any rich patron of literary men.

Proculeius, a Roman knight mentioned by Horace, Od. ii. 2. 5, as a model of generosity towards his brothers.

95. Paulus **Fabius** Maximus, Ovid's patron, to whom he addresses Ep. ex Ponto i. 2.

Cotta, another patron of Ovid's, Ep. ex Ponto ii. 8.

Lentulus. P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, who procured Cicero's recal from exile, B. C. 57, or Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus; cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 44.

97. 'They found their profit in looking sallow like a poet, and posing as abstainers through the revels of December.' For **pallere** cf. Persius i. 26. The Saturnalia took place in December.

98. 'Possibly the historian's profession is better paid, for he has a more practical aim than the poet—nay, his subject covers more ground and uses up more brain power.'

100. 'Historians, one and all, see their thousandth page topping the pile and scorning limits, and growing into expense from the reckless amount of papyrus used.' For 'surgit' cf. Ovid, Amores i. 1. 17 'Cum bene surrexit versu nova pagina primo.'

The name **pagina**, from the root 'pag,' found in 'com-pag-o'—πήγνυμι, etc. denotes the narrow strips of the fine bark of the Egyptian papyrus, glued together, which were then termed 'paginae' or 'schedae.' The width and length of these rolls varied. The roll of Egyptian papyrus containing a fragment of the Iliad is eight feet long and ten inches broad. See Becker's Gallus p. 326.

101. **damnosa**. So much care was expended on the preparation of the papyrus by pressing and bleaching that a thousand pages would have cost a considerable sum—we might construe 'grows into money.' As each 'pagina' was affixed to the end of the roll it increased the bulk of the roll and swelled itself.

102. **operum lex**. 'The artistic law of their production.'

104. **acta**, the 'acta diurna' ii. 136. 'Were you to read out the daily gazette, you would get more than if you were to compose a treatise on the great facts of history.' In Petronius 53 there is an actuarius who, at Trimalchio's supper, 'tamquam urbis acta recitavit.' This seems to have been a parody upon the government gazette of the day. **legenti** is to be resolved into 'si quis legeret;' in Greek we should expect the participle with ἄν.

105. 'Ay,' says the enemy of the historians, 'but they are a useless lot, who like their sofa and a cloistered life,' Cicero's 'vita umbratilis.' 'Then,' says Juvenal, 'let us take the case of a most practical profession, that of the lawyers, and see if they are better paid.'

107. **libelli**. 'Their briefs, which always accompany them.' The

causidici were the pleaders in civil cases before the centumviri; the criminal cases came before the senate.

108. **ipsi.** 'They are inclined enough of themselves to talk big (about their fees), but especially if any chance creditor is by to listen to them; or if one more really interested nudges them who comes to sue with a big ledger for a doubtful debt.' The first creditor *may* require the lawyer's services: and so it is worth while talking big to him: the second *appeals* to him: and so it seems worth his while to talk even bigger.

110. Weidner takes **dubium nomen** to refer to the advocate himself. Entry in the ledger before witnesses was the legal proof of debt: cf. Cicero, Fam. ix. 10. 1. Cf. also a note by Long on Cic. Verr. ii. 1. 38.

111. 'Then they tell greater lies than ever, and spit to avert the punishment.' It was usual to spit three times to avoid this 'fascinum.' Cf. Plin. N. H. xxviii. 7; Theoc. ii. 62; Tylor, Primitive Man, vol. ii. pp. 397 and 400.

114. **Lacerna**, the auriga of 'the red.' He refers to one of the four 'factions' in the circus, of which there were four—the albata, russata, veneta, and prasina: the white, the red, the blue, and the green. The Roman people interested themselves for the success of one or other of these factions, much as an English crowd would do for 'a stable' in modern times. The 'aurigae' were in the pay of the praetor, who richly rewarded the most successful. Vopisc. Aurel. 15 says 'that he had seen whole patrimonies lavished in presents bestowed on these aurigae.'

115. This is a parody on Ovid, Met. xiii. 1–2, where Ajax rises to assert his claim as against Ulysses to the arms of Achilles: 'You differ, however, from Ovid's Ajax in that you turn pale.'

116. 'You have to act as advocate for one who is claimed as a slave: a bumpkin is judge.' It would seem as if this case were conducted before a single judge and not a court or 'iudicium.'

118. We see from Martial, vii. 28. 5, that lawyers who had won a case used to deck their house doors with evergreens. This lawyer lives in lodgings and has only his staircase to deck.

119. **petasunculus**, dim. of 'petaso,' 'the pestle' of bacon: Lewis quotes Martial, xiii. 55, to show that it was one of the usual presents sent to strangers and guests. Cf. also Pers. iii. 75, who says that the Marsian client paid in pepper and hams.

120. **Maurorum epimenia.** 'The rations of negroes:' Moorish slaves. **bulbi**, probably some kind of 'onion.'

121. 'Wine which came *down* the Tiber'—not imported from S. Italy, whence came the best wine—'he will give you full five flagons of that.'

122. The whole trial entails four 'actiones.' The **aureus** = 100 sesterces.

123. 'From this the attorney's fees have to come off by the covenant.' The **pragmatici** were men whose business it was to be well versed in the law to explain it to the pleaders. They were not allowed to speak in court. Cf. Quint. iii. 6. 59.

124. 'An **Aemilius**, a man of family and wealth, will get the full fee.'

quantum licet is explained by Tac. Ann. xi. 5. The scandal of advocates selling their own client had reached such a pitch that the senate under Claudius demanded that the 'lex Cincia' should be revived, which forbade any advocate taking fees on any consideration. Claudius allowed them to take ten sestertia or 100 aurei.

et, 'and yet.' So used in silver Latinity. Cf. Tac. Ann. i. 38 (Mayor).

125. **enim**, 'Ay, for he has triumphal effigies of chariots in his court-yard, and a statue of himself taking aim with one eye shut.' Cf. Mart. ix. 68. 5. The **vestibulum** is explained in Becker's Gallus, p. 238, to be a vacant space towards the street and before the house, and enclosed on three sides by the middle main building where the 'ianua' was, and by the two wings projecting into the street. Rich s. v. gives an illustration from an ancient Roman fresco painting. The word comes from 've' (connected with the root *dva* seen in *duo* and *dubius*, and denoting *separation*) and 'stabulum.'

129. 'And thus, by affectation of wealth and show, the poorer lawyers go bankrupt.' **conturbare**, sc. 'rationes.'

Pedo, an unknown pleader. **Matho**, i. 32.

130. **Tongilii**. Cf. Mart. ii. 40, who describes him as a glutton.

rhinocerote, an oil-flask of rhinoceros-horn.

132. The **Medi** were Thracians from Medica in N. Macedonia, employed as palanquin bearers.

133. See Mart. ix. 60 for a description of a man who went about all day inspecting costly slaves and 'murrina:' and ended by buying a couple of cups for an 'as,' and taking them home himself.

murrina. Probably 'ornaments and bowls' made of *agate*, 'such as is still boiled at Baroach in Bengal, and then baked to bring out the colours.' So says Mayor, and produces a long list of authorities in favour of his assertion. Others have maintained 'murrina' to be Chinese porcelain. See Rich s. v., who quotes Plin. N. H. xxxvii. 8 as verging upon the truth.

134. **stlattaria**, from the root 'star,' 'to stretch,' found in *στόρ-νυ-μι* and 'sterno.' Hence *stlata*, 'a wide ship:' so that the meaning seems to be 'imported.' Others, as Weidner, following Heinrich, take it to mean 'tricky,' 'enticing,' because the ship, a pirate, 'variis ludificationibus utitur.' The former explanation seems preferable. See Vaníček s. v.

136. **amethystina**. 'Amethystinae vestes.' Cf. Martial i. 36. 'Violet coloured cloaks,' forbidden by Nero. Cf. Suet. Nero 32.

138. Condemned by Heinrich, Ribbeck, and Weidner as spoiling the connection of ideas.

139. 'Do we then trust in eloquence? Cicero would to-day be nothing unless he had a huge ring on.'

141. Weidner takes this to mean that 'the client looks at the number

of your slaves; have you eight or ten as an escort: a couple makes a wonderful difference!' But this omission of *an* before **comites** seems awkward, and it is better to understand the word of 'clients,' even though the same idea is expressed by **togati**.

143. **Paulus, Gallus,** and **Basilus** are poor lawyers.

146. 'Even if Basilus had a case in which he might appeal to the feelings of the jurors, he would be laughed out of court should he, poor as he is, make the endeavour.' Lewis remarks that in each of the three orations for Sulla, Flaccus, and Sestius, Cicero produces before the court his client's son.

148. Gaul, Spain, and Africa were great patrons of oratory, and many of the great Roman rhetoricians founded their reputation there. Instances are the elder Seneca, Quintilian, and Apuleius.

150. 'Are you a professor of rhetoric? Your case is worse still!' Vettius is mentioned by Pliny as a physician and rhetor, H. N. xxix. 1, as Lewis remarks.

151. 'When your overgrown class murders cruel tyrants.' **numerosa** might possibly mean 'in rhythmical cadence,' referring to the sing-song implied in **cantabit**, infra v. 153.

152. **legerat**, 'had read and made an end of reading,' as the teacher might fondly imagine.

153. **perferet**, 'will go through with.'

154. A proverb, *δὶς κράμβη θάνατος*.

155. **quis color.** Weidner refers to Cicero, De Or. iii. 96 'ornatur oratio genere primum et quasi colore quodam et suco suo.' This seems to mean 'the characteristic' of the speech; its pervading tone. Mayor interprets it as 'the varnish, gloss or colour by which the accused endeavours to palliate, the accuser to aggravate, the allowed facts of the case.' The instances quoted by him seem to confirm his interpretation; e. g. the passage from Quintilian iv. 2. § 88, whence it appears that 'colorare' was a technical term among rhetoricians for giving an unreal or coloured meaning to pleas.

genus, whether 'iudiciale,' 'deliberativum,' or 'demonstrativum.'

156. **quaestio**, 'the main question.' Cf. 'controversia, quam quaestionem dicimus, hoc modo: iurene fecerit?' Quintilian, iii. 11. 1, quoted by Weidner.

158. **mercedem.** 'What, you dun for payment? why, what have I learnt? Of course the fault is set down to the teacher that this true son of Arcadia has no wits.' 'Cor' with the Romans was thought the seat of intelligence, as with us 'the brains.' Thus 'egregie cordatus homo catus Aelius Sextus' Cic. Tusc. i. 9.

161. **dirus.** A constant epithet. Cf. Horace, Odes iii. 6. 36.

163. 'Is he to march on Rome after Cannae?' 'Le roi de Hongrie étant à Brisach, Annibal est ad portas' Mémoire adressé par Richelieu à Louis XIII, 14 Octobre, 1636.

165. Mayor follows the reading of the MSS., changing, however, 'quid' to **quod**. 'Ask for what you like, and receive at once what

I offer, that his father may hear him as often as I have to do.' Weidner alters the text to 'Quantum vis stipulare? en protinus accipe! quin do, ut totiens illum pater audiat.' 'How much do you wish to bargain for! Take it on the spot, nay, I give it you, if only his father,' etc. But Mayor's reading does less violence to the reading of the MSS., and gives an equally good sense.

166. 'This is the complaint of half a dozen rhetoricians who leave their fancy themes and conduct true cases.'

168. **raptore relicto.** Quintilian refers to this as a fancy theme in his Decl. 247. A rich young man runs away with a girl. He offers to marry her: she refuses. He stabs himself. Then the girl offers to accept him as a husband before he dies. Then the wife and the husband's relations put in claims to the inheritance.

169. The substance of the second stock theme is given by Seneca, Contr. ii. 13.

170. The substance of this 'controversia' is not known.

171. 'He will give himself his discharge.' A metaphor drawn from the gladiatorial school. The gladiator, on receiving his discharge, received as a present the wooden sword with which he practised. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1. 2.

173. **ab umbra**, from 'the cloistered retirement' of the rhetorician, referring to the rhetorician's 'vita umbratilis,' as distinguished from the real battle of life.

174. The sense according to Mayor is, 'Who comes into court from his retirement to recover from his scholars the paltry pittance they owe, amounting to at most the price of a corn ticket.' Weidner interprets the passage, 'Whoever is wise will give up playing the rhetor, so that he may at least in his right of civis get his bread-ticket, which he sells for a paltry price. This is however better than nothing at all.' In the later times of the republic and under Augustus a quantity of cheap bread-tickets were issued to certain of the poorer class at Rome, by the 'praefectus annonae.' These *tesserae* were guaranteed by the State and were transferable. The presenter of such 'tessera' would receive a 'modius' for $6\frac{2}{3}$ asses, the market price being 12 asses. If he were known to be a rhetor, and so capable of gaining his living, he would not receive the 'tessera.' It seems that the simplest way to take the words is, 'I would advise the rhetorician who would turn lawyer to enter on some quite different career from either; that is, if he would keep in his pocket the paltry fee which he has gained as rhetorician.'

175. 'Examine the fees which music masters such as Chrysogonus and Polio get, and you will tear up your treatise on rhetoric.' The first two were professors of music: Polio is referred to as such in Martial iv. 61. 9.

177. **Theodorus** of Gadara is praised by Quintilian iii. 1. 17.

178. 'Your rich man must have every luxury: baths, porticoes, artistes: he can afford only a trifle to the best rhetoricians.' Pliny's description of his villa (ii. 17) should be read in connection with this.

181. This verse is rejected by Weidner, who deems it a remnant of a first cast of the Satire; it certainly seems somewhat awkward.

183. **cenatio.** 'The dining-hall' adorned with ornate pillars of Numidian marble, and turned to the north so as to catch the sun when not too strong.

184. 'However dear the house, there will be forthcoming a structor to arrange the courses, and a *pulmentarius* who made the preparation of dainty dishes his specialty.'

185. **qui condit** = pulmentariorum conditor; such periphrases are characteristic of a rhetorical style. Lachmann conjectured *condiat* for 'condit,' on the analogy of 'ebulliat,' scanned as a dissyllable by Persius ii. 10. It seems at first sight unlikely that the indicative should follow the subjunctive; but on the other hand, Mayor quotes Satire xi. 130, where 'despicit' follows 'comparet.' Cf. also iii. 102, where 'si poscas' follows 'si conspexit.'

187. 'If, then, the fees paid by parents are so small, how comes it that Quintilian is so rich? He is a lucky man: and your lucky man may expect anything.' Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 3. 124. Lewis points out that Pliny, Ep. vi. 32, speaks of Quintilian's moderate means; and rightly adds, that 'Pliny was rich and Juvenal poor;' so that what seemed a great sum to the one will have seemed but small to the other.

192. 'Yes, your lucky man gets even made senator,' lit. 'has been known to attach the crescent to his black leather boot.' The **aluta** was a half-boot, so called from being steeped in alum to soften it. A small crescent was attached to it in front, which appears to have been a survival from the ancient 'calceus patricius,' dating from 300 B.C., before which time classes were distinguished by their dress.

193. 'And if he has a cold he sings specially well. In fact he can't sing without one.' Possibly Juvenal had in his mind the words of Horace, Ep. i. 1. 108 'Praecipue sanus nisi cum pituita molesta est,' though the thought is different.

194. Cf. Hor. Od. ii. 17. 21 'Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo Consentit astrum.'

197. Juvenal here refers to an occurrence which took place under Domitian; cf. Plin. Ep. iv. 11. 1 'Praetorius hic modo . . . eo decidit ut exul de senatore, rhetor de oratore fieret.'

199. 'What about Ventidius and Tullius? They are simply instances of luck and mysterious destiny.' **Ventidius Bassus**, a captive who rose from a muleteer to be consul, B. C. 43, Gell. xv. 4.

Tullius. Servius Tullius, the son of a slave woman.

200. **sidus.** The influence of the stars; **potentia** is also an astronomical term like 'influence;' cf. Schiller, Wallenstein's Tod, Act i. Sc. 1. 6 'Ja, sie (Venus) ist jetzt in ihrer Erdennäh', Und wirkt herab mit allem ihren Stärken.'

204. **Thrasymachus** of Chalcedon, a younger contemporary of Socrates, mentioned in Plato's Republic lib. 1 and 2. Of his end we know nothing.

Secundus Carrinas, banished by Caligula; Dio Cass. lix. 20. He lived poor, and in exile at Rome, so that the meaning seems to be, as Weidner takes it, 'And you, Athens, saw him in beggary there; you who never dared help a great man to anything but to a cup of poison, as you helped Socrates.'

207. 'date,' or some such word, must be understood.

210. Cf. v. 154 'metuensque flagelli.' The genitive after present participles is frequent in silver Latinity.

212. Homer also makes Achilles Chiron's pupil, but the Centaurs of Homer's time were not yet transformed into half horses; cf. Ovid, A. A. i. 11.

213. **Rufus**, a rhetorician of the day.

214. This verse is omitted by Weidner. It seems to be spurious, (1) because **atque alios** and **quemque** stand between **Rufum** and its repetition; (2) because **sua iuventus** has to supply a nominative to **dixit**.

215. **Celadus**. Mentioned by Suet. Aug. 67 as a freedman. The same author, De Gram. 23, describes Q. Remmius **Palaemon** as a skilled **grammaticus** of loose principles.

218. ἀκοινώνητος, another reading, means 'greedy,' unwilling to part with what he has. ἀκοινονόητος will mean 'destitute of ordinary good feeling.'

219. **qui dispensat**. The dispensator or cashier of the wealthy house. The sense is, 'Come down, Palaemon, from your high pretensions, and condescend to abate some of your charges, like a petty tradesman.'

221. 'Linen sheets' made among the Cadurci in Gallia Narbonensis, and thence called; cf. the French use of 'rouennerie.'

222. 'Only see that it does not go completely for nothing that you have got up so early and borne the smell of all those grimy lamps.'

223. Mart. xii. 57 tells us that school work began before cock-crow at Rome, 'negant vitam Ludimagistri mane.'

227. The masterpieces of Roman literature were taught in the schools, such as Horace and Vergil. See Suet. De ill. Gramm. 16; Quint. i. 8. 5.

228. The **tribunus plebis**, who was under the Empire invested with the power of a police magistrate; Mommsen, Die röm. Tribus p. 50, quoted by Weidner. See also Tac. Ann. xiii. 28.

230. 'That the teacher may be perfectly grounded in every one of the rules of grammar.' Lit. that the teacher's rules of grammar should be consistent.

231. 'That he may be well read in history.'

233. Vergil tells us the name of Aeneas' nurse, Caieta, Aen. vii. 1: the teacher has to know actually the name of the nurse of his father.

Phoebus was a 'libertus' of Vespasian; cf. Tac. Ann. xvi. 5. Here he is mentioned as a keeper of private baths ('balnea meritoria'). 'Balnea' was the ordinary name for baths of any kind; the public bathing establishments were known by the plural word 'balineae.' 'Thermae' was the special name given under the empire to the luxurious establishments, constructed upon the plan of the Greek gymnasium, which con-

tained, besides baths, rooms for conversation, porticos, apparatus for gymnastic exercises, etc. The chief 'thermae' were the 'Agrippinae,' the 'Neronianae' and the 'Titianae.' See Becker's Gallus, scene vii. p. 391.

235. **Anchemoli.** Vergil again, Aen. x. 389, tells us of Anchemolus 'thalamos ausum incestare novercae.'

Acestes. Verg. Aen. i. 195 tells us that Acestes had founded a Trojan settlement in Segesta before Aeneas. See also Aen. v. 73. Tiberius (Suet. Vita Tib.) used to put such questions to grammarians.

237. 'But you require him not merely to know these useless trifles, but to train his morals as well:' he is to be the 'professional parent' of the boys under him. **ducere** is to model in wax and clay. See Pers. v. 40.

242. 'Carry out all this, and when the time comes for payment get as much pay as a successful performer receives at the request of the populace from the "editor ludorum."' This seems to have been five aurei, though a very popular victor would no doubt receive more.

SATIRE VIII.

ON THE DEGENERACY OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

THIS is a Satire on the degeneracy of the aristocracy of Juvenal's time. It appears in the form of a letter to Ponticus. Some of Horace's Epistles (as ii. 1. 251, etc.) contain satirical passages; but on the whole their tone is more gentle and breathes a spirit of more *bonhomie* than satires written by Juvenal. Of Valerius Ponticus, to whom this letter is addressed, we know nothing. It seems improbable that he is the same as the Ponticus addressed by Martial ix. 20, who is spoken of as a gourmand (coenantis bene).

1–18. Of what use are pedigrees and ancestry to one who disgraces them by his gambling and luxury?

1. **stemmata.** The *imagines* were the most striking ornaments of the 'atrium' of a Roman nobleman. They consisted of coloured masks of wax fitted to busts. These were placed in small cases (armaria), under which were inscriptions commemorating the titles and exploits of each man's ancestors: and were connected by painted lines, so as to represent the genealogical tree of the family. The custom of keeping ancestral 'imagines' originated in the primitive belief that the deceased lived, after being buried, in his grave; and his relatives thought it desirable to remind themselves of the departed one by masks resembling him. See Marq. vol. vi. p. 234. The 'stemma' was the name given to the imagines and lineae together. Cf. Plin. N. H. xxxv. 2. 6 'Stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas.'

longo sanguine. 'To be valued for antiquity of blood.' Weidner

aptly quotes Sen. Ep. lxxvi. 9 'Id in homine primum solumque est quo et probatur et improbatur.'

3. Those ancestors who had enjoyed a triumph were naturally looked on with the greatest pride: sometimes they were honoured with a statue in the front court as in Sat. vii. 125. Sometimes they were painted at full length standing in the triumphal car.

Aemilianos. The younger Scipio when adopted by Scipio the elder was P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus.

4. **M. Curius Dentatus,** the conqueror of Pyrrhus.

umeros, a Greek construction, as in Sil. It. Punic. iii. 42 'Achelous frontem minor.' Quintilian notices the use of the acc. after adjectives as a Grecism, ix. 3. 17.

5. **M. Valerius Corvinus.** See Sat. i. 96.

Galba, some ancestor of the Emperor who, as Suetonius tells us in his Life, was fond of referring to Jove as his ancestor.

6–8. These verses are condemned by Weidner as an interpolation. The repetition of Corvinus' name seems harsh: the expression **multa virga,** whether it means 'a long wand' or 'broom,' or, as Lewis takes it, 'through many a branch,' is very obscure; and there is a meaningless bathos in the descent from the 'triumphales' to the mere **tabula generis.**

9. **quo.** 'To what purpose?' So Cic. Pro Caelio § 53 'dixit profecto quo vellet aurum.' **effigies** is the accus. case, cf. xiv. 56. 135. The sense is, 'what is the good of all these ancestors if you insult them by low gambling before their very busts?' The **Lepidi** were of the illustrious 'gens Aemilia.'

13. 'Why should a Fabius feel any pride in the descent he claims from his ancestor Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus (who defeated the Allobroges B.C. 121, and thence received the agnomen of Allobrogicus), or feel pride in the Ara Maxima, dedicated by Evander to Hercules (Verg. Aen. viii. 271), or in Hercules his legendary ancestor, if he has degenerated into a vain and greedy weakling?'

15. **Euganea.** The Euganean or Venetian wool was the most highly prized for whiteness and delicacy. Cf. Mart. xiv. 155.

17. 'He disgraces his shockhaired ancestors.' Cf. Cowper's Garden, 'Our forefathers, a grave whiskered race, but tasteless.' **traducere** is properly to 'show off' to the people a disgraced malefactor. The word is used in its original sense in Suet. Tit. 8. ad fin. 'novissima traductos per Amphitheatrum in arenam.'

emptor. The busts of criminals were excluded from the right of standing amongst the 'imagines.' Nero, Tac. Ann. xvi. 7 'obiectavit Cassio quod inter imagines maiorum etiam C. Cassi effigiem coluisset, ita inscriptam "duci partium."'

19–38. Virtue is the only true nobility. We judge of your character by your achievements.

19. For the sentiment cf. Boileau, Sat. v. 41

'On ne m'éblouit point d'une apparence vaine;
La vertu d'un cœur noble est la marque certaine.'

Friedländer (quoted by Hardy) shows how opposed were Juvenal's sentiments to ordinary Roman popular ideas. Aemilia Lepida, a woman notorious for her crimes, when brought to trial was the object of universal sympathy because she was a member of the 'gens Aemilia.'

21. 'Be a nobleman in *character;* and let the character be the first thing: consideration of the busts be the second thing.'

24. 'The first thing which you are bound to show me is the fruit of your disposition: your integrity and the purity of your morals.'

25. This concessive use of the indicative mood has been noticed on Sat. iii. 100 'rides, maiore cachinno Concutitur.'

26. **agnosco.** Not merely 'I know you:' but I 'recognise you' as the ideal nobleman whose character I knew before. **tu** is often used in the second clause of a sentence, like the Homeric ὅ γε, σύ γε, to repeat emphatically the subject of the first clause. Cf. Hor. i. 9. 16 'Nec dulces amores Sperne puer neque tu choreas.'

Cornelius Lentulus **Gaetulicus.** Cf. Tac. Ann. iv. 44 'Lentulo gloriae fuerat bene tolerata paupertas.'

27. **Silanus,** a cognomen of the 'gens Iunia,' Tac. Ann. iii. 24.

28. 'If you are a good citizen we are tempted to cry out, as the Egyptians do on finding Apis, εὑρήκαμεν συγχαίρωμεν Sen. Apoc. 13. The whole myth of Osiris is discussed in detail by M. Renouf in his Hibbert Lectures, 1879, p. 110. He thinks that the death of Osiris (the son of Seb, the earth and not the heaven) represents the disappearance of either the daily or the annual light; most probably, however, 'the victory of Set over Osiris is that of night over day and the resurrection of Osiris is the rising of the sun.' For the worship of Apis see M. Renouf ut supra, p. 236, and Stanley's Sinai and Palestine p. 53. At Memphis Osiris became united in worship to the bull Apis, and then became Serapis, eventually the chief god of Egypt. Osiris with his queen and sister Isis was the favourite Egyptian divinity. What Herodotus describes, iii. 27, as true of Apis, is here transferred to Osiris. An Apis was found and brought to Memphis amid general rejoicing. Cambyses wounded it and told the priests that it was no god.

30. 'How can we speak of the nobility of one who has utterly degenerated and owes his distinction to his name alone?'

32. Dwarfs and deformed slaves were kept for amusement by some of the wealthy Romans; cf. Quintil. ii. 5. § 11; and especially A. Gell. xix. 13. 'Augustus had a court dwarf, Canopas, the pet of his niece Julia;' Plin. N. H. vii. 16. See Gallus p. 211. Juvenal says, 'We nick-name dwarfs and deformities by the name of giants and beauties: even so beware lest your high-sounding title be taken to imply that you are one of low qualities.'

39–55. Look at men like Rubellius Blandus. He vaunts his imperial connections, while plebeians are serving the state.

39. **Rubelli Blande.** Livia, the wife of Augustus, had by her first husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, two sons, Tiberius and Drusus.

Drusus had a daughter Livilla, who married Tiberius' son Drusus. Her daughter Julia married Rubellius Blandus (Tac. Ann. vi. 27). Their son was Rubellius Plautus, who was murdered by Nero's orders in Asia. Some editors, against the MSS. authority, read 'Plaute' here; and as Plautus was dead long before this Satire was written, assume that he is spoken of as the type of a class, and that he is thus addressed and spoken of as if living. But it seems more natural to suppose that the Blandus here spoken of was a grandson of Rubellius Blandus and bore his name. That Plautus had children is expressly stated by Tacitus, Ann. xiv. 59. This will place the date of his life under the Flavian dynasty, and make him a contemporary of Juvenal's. Who Blandus' mother, the wife of Plautus, was, is a difficult question. Tacitus (Ann. xiii. 19) tells us that Agrippina, Nero's mother, was suspected of intending to marry Plautus, and by his aid to usurp the reins of government. Hence it is possible that the young Blandus sprang from the illicit connection between his father and Agrippina.

41. 'As if you had done anything to warrant your being a noble (or done anything) to make you worthy of having been conceived by a royal princess rather than by a common woman.'

43. **agger**, '*the* rampart' *par excellence;* the raised mound on the east of Rome, from the Porta Esquilina to the Porta Collina.

46. **Cecropides**, 'a true son of Cecrops:' autochthonous. This became a proverbial expression. Cf. Luc. Tim. 23 *εὐγενέστερος τοῦ Κέκροπος.*

47. 'Still, in spite of your blue blood, you are a useless stay-at-home, and "home-keeping minds have ever homely wits." Your ordinary Roman citizen can do everything as well as you and much besides.'

51. **petit Euphraten**: to serve against the **Parthians**, or **Batavi**, who rebelled under Claudius Civilis and were conquered by Domitian.

53. **truncus** may refer to the well-known mutilation of the Hermes statues by Alcibiades. For the thought cf. Cicero, In Pis. § 19 'qui tamquam truncus atque stipes si stetisset modo, posset sustinere tamen titulum consulatus.'

Hermae. 'You are like a mere bust of Hermes that can't move.'

56–70. In the case of animals such as horses we value them for the prizes they have won and not for their pedigree. Let then men who claim our admiration, first show us what they have done.

56. 'My true son of the Teucrians, tell me who would talk of the pedigree of animals unless they showed it?' For **Teucrorum proles** cf. i. 88 'Ipsos Troiugenas' and note.

57. **nempe**, 'of course.'

58. Some interpret **plurima palma fervet** to mean 'excitement rises from the numerous palms of victory they bear off.' The simpler way seems to take it with Weidner, 'for whom many a palm glows from clapping of hands.'

61. **fuga**, 'speed.'

62. Martial gives a description of a 'bellus homo' iii. 63, from

which it appears that one of the objects of his gossip was the knowledge of horses' pedigrees. Martial iii. 63. 12 mentions a horse Hirpinus.

64. **ibi**, in the circus.

gratia. 'No thanks are due to ghosts; no one cares for a horse's departed ancestors, if itself win no prizes.'

66. **epiredia.** Taken by some to mean the packwaggon which follows the 'reda;' others interpret it as the thong which joins the collar to the chariot. Quintilian remarks on the word as a hybrid between Greek and Celtic, i. 5. 68.

67. **digni**, i. e. 'they are no better than asses' which were usually employed to turn mills. Cf. Lukian, Asin. 42.

Nepotis, a miller of the day.

68. **privum**, 'of your own.' 'Privus' is an archaic word used by Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 10; but to express 'one's own' we commonly find in classical Latin 'meus,' 'tuus,' 'suus,' 'ipsius,' or 'proprius.'

71–146. 'Depend on yourself, and not on your ancestors, **Ponticus.** Let duty be your watch word; die before you lose your self-respect or abuse a charge entrusted to your care.'

73. **sensus communis**, 'the true feeling of equality as between citizen and citizen.' So Weidner rightly explains it. Horace uses the expression, Sat. i. 3. 66, to signify the delicate intuitive feeling for the behaviour due from man to man in order to pass through life pleasantly.

75. **futurae laudis.** 'While yourself doing no deed bound up with praise in the future.' This is a somewhat curious use of the genitive of quality, which in the Silver Age of Latinity had a wider use than in classical Latin.

76. ''Tis a sorry thing to have only the reputation of others to lean on: the columns may give way and the roof will fall in: the vine, reft of its supporting tree, falls to earth.' The **ulmi** are said to be **viduae**, as torn from or divorced from their natural partners, the vines.

79. **arbiter.** The 'arbiter' nearly answers to our 'arbitrator.' See Gaius, iv. 163 (Poste) 'a defendant may prefer arbitration without mistrusting the justice of his cause.'

81. **Phalaris.** The cruelty of this Sicilian tyrant has passed into a proverb; so that Cic. Ad Att. vii. 12 speaks of *φαλαρισμός* for tyranny. The story was that he engaged one Perillus to fashion for him a brazen bull, into which he thrust his victims and then applied fire to the bull, so that it seemed to be bellowing. See Pindar, Pyth. i. 185.

83. **pudor**, 'honour:' *αἰδώς*, whence springs *σωφροσύνη*. Weidner well quotes Pliny, Ep. v. 1. 6 'neque aderat alius qui defunctae pudorem tueretur.'

84. **vivendi causas**, 'motives for living.' Cf. Plin. Ep. i. 12. 3. Reason drove Corellius to the resolution of ending his life 'quamquam plurimas vivendi causas habentem.'

85. 'The wicked man is as good as dead though he have every luxury.'

perit is the perfect tense, as in Sat. vi. 295.

86. **Gaurana** = 'Lucrine:' for Mount Gaurus rises above the Lucrine lake. Cf. iv. 141.

Cosmus, a perfumer of the day, mentioned by Mart. iii. 82. 26, etc. Gabinius, the degenerate consul, is mentioned by Cicero, Sext. vii. as 'unguentis affluens, calamistrata coma;' and Pliny, N. H. xiii. 3 says, 'Iam non lini tantum sed perfundi unguentis gaudent (Romani).'

90. 'You see (in the provinces) the mere skeletons of states sucked till their very marrow is dry.' Another reading is 'regum,' which would refer to the native kings or princes who were squeezed dry by the Roman governors. So in German, 'Einen bis aufs Mark aussaugen:' and in French 'sucer quelqu'un jusqu'aux os' (Lemaire).

91. **curia.** 'The senate,' which in assigning the provinces expects them to be properly administered.

94. Ordinary pirates were called **Cilices**, from Cicilia, one of their main haunts. Roman governors such as Capito are so bad that they pillage even pirates. Cossutianus **Capito** was accused 'repetundarum,' A. D. 57, by the Cilicians, Tac. Ann. xiii. 33; xiv. 21. **Numitor** is unknown.

sed quid. 'But if the province gets a verdict as against its governor what good does it get thereby?'

96. **Chaerippus.** Probably some Cilician who had been active in working up the case against the governor: 'Look out for a good auctioneer to turn your tattered clothes into money, since what one governor leaves is plundered by another; and learn to suffer and be mute. 'Tis no good to waste your passage-money to Rome; you will get no redress there.'

97. 'In the old times, when the provinces had been but recently conquered. they were richer and could bear their injuries without so many groans.'

98. **gemitus damnorum** are the groans caused by these losses; **vulnus**, the feeling of mortification engendered thereby.

100. 'Then every house was well furnished, and high rose the heap of coin.'

101. **chlamys**, 'a light cloak' fashionable under the Emperors. Pliny, N. H. ix. 60. (36), notices that the coast of Laconia produced excellent purple.

conchylia, properly the shell-fish from which the purple was extracted; here used for the fine purple transparent gauze vestments for which Cos was famous. See Plin. N. H. ix. 124.

102. **Parrhasius**, a Greek painter who seems to have been the first to use perspective in painting. He lived about 400 B.C.

Myron of Eleutherae, circ. B. C. 480. Masterpieces of his were the colossal group of Zeus, Athene, and Heracles, in the temple of Here at Samos; the Cow; and the Discobolus. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 57, remarks that he paid great attention to the representation of the forms of the body.

103. **Phidias**, the greatest Athenian sculptor in the best epoch of

Greek art; the friend of Pericles. His masterpieces were the Throne of Zeus at Olympia, the gigantic Athene Promachos of bronze which stood on the Acropolis, and the chryselephantine Athena, Paus. v. 10. 2.

Polycliti. There were two sculptors of this name; one of Sicyon (B.C. 482), a rival of Pheidias, from whom he is said to have learned engraving. His masterpiece was the statue of Here, the temple image of the new temple of Here on Mount Euboea between Argos and Mycenae, Paus. ii. 17. 4. The other flourished about B.C. 405. His masterpiece was the statue of Zeus Philios, Paus. viii. 31. 4.

104. **Mentor,** the most celebrated silver-chaser of antiquity. Cf. Pliny, N. H. xxxiii. 12. 55 (§ 124); Mart. iv. 39. 5, etc. The name of the artificer stands for a work of art, as we may say, a 'Raphael,' etc.

105. **Dolabellae.** Such as Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, charged with plundering his province of Macedonia A.D. 77; another of the same name accused of 'repetundarum' and condemned; and P. Cornelius Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law.

Antonius. M. Antonius Creticus, son of the orator and father of the triumvir, plundered Sicily, and was condemned in B.C. 59.

106. **sacrilegus,** because he stole the statues of the gods from their shrines. '(Deorum) simulacra sanctissima C. Verres ex delubris sustulit' Cicero in Verrem i. 53.

107. **plures,** the several triumphs gained by peace, not war.

111, 112. These two verses are condemned by Weidner and Heinrich as spurious; they seem to be poor amplifications of the preceding thought.

113. 'You may be right in thinking scornfully of men debased and enfeebled by luxury, such as Rhodians and Corinthians.'

114. **resinata.** 'Resina' was a depilatory: Pliny, N. H. xiv. 25 (§ 123), deplores the use of it by men. Cf. also Martial xii. 32. 21. The process was called in Greek *παρατιλμός* and *πίττωσις*.

116. 'But the grim Spaniards, and the children of the Gallic sky and the Illyrian coast-line, are different enemies from the Corinthians; ay, and keep your hands off those hardy reapers that throng the capital and give its citizens food, that they may enjoy their circus and their theatre. Though even if you wanted to plunder them, what is there left to plunder? Why, Marius has robbed the poor Africans of their only covering—their girdle!' The Romans looked to Africa and Sardinia for their chief corn supplies. For Marius see i. 49.

122. 'To those who are at once brave and desperate.'

124. This verse seems justly condemned by Weidner and others as a weak repetition of that preceding.

125. **sententia,** 'no mere aphorism.' Lewis well remarks that Quintilian devotes a large part of a chapter, Inst. Or. viii. 5, to 'sententiae.'

126. For the description of the 'Sibyllina folia' see Verg. Aen. vi. 44. The sentiment is similar to that in Ovid, Am. A. ii. 541 'Haec tibi non hominem sed quercus crede Pelasgas Dicere.'

127. **cohors comitum** is the regular name for the young men who

accompanied a provincial governor into his province and formed, as we should say, his staff. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 8 and Cic. Verr. ii. 27.

128. **Acersecomes**, an epithet of Phoebus, Homer, Il. ii. 39. 'No young Lovelocks.' Juvenal's own slave was close cropped (Sat. xi. 149).

in coniuge. Tacitus, Ann. iv. 20, tells us that the behaviour of the wives of provincial governors was so bad, and their avarice so excessive, that the governors were by law rendered responsible for the behaviour of their wives. Cf. also Ann. iii. 33.

129. **conventus**, as we should say, 'assize towns,' places appointed by the governor to hold courts in. Each province was divided into a certain number of these 'conventus' or 'iurisdictiones.'

130. **Celaeno**, the eldest of the harpies. Cf. Verg. Aen. iii. 210.

131. 'If you are pure and just you may claim **Picus** the son of Saturn as your ancestor.' For Picus, the first king of Latium, cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 48. The sentiment is similar to that in Pope's Essay on Man Ep. iv. 211

'What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards?
Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.'

139. The same sentiment is in Sallust, Iug. lxxxv. 22.

140. Lewis quotes Sen. Oct. 575 'Maiora populus semper a summo exigit.' Julius Caesar's maxim was, 'Ita in maxima fortuna minuma licentia est.' Cf. also Pope, Essay on Man, Ep. iv. 267

'Painful preëminence! yourself to view
Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.'

142. When **quo** is used like 'quorsum,' an ellipse of some word commonly follows. Here it would be something like 'narras.' Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 5. 12 'Quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti?' Wills were commonly kept for safety in temples: the forger is here represented as committing sacrilege as well as forgery.

144. Montaigne, in his Essay on Prayers, quotes this passage and developes the thought.

145. **Santonico**, 'a cowl' made at Saintonge in Aquitaine. The 'cucullus Santonicus' was the same as the 'bardocucullus,' a rough cloak, with a hood, covering the whole body.

146–182. Some who should be the true leaders of the people turn coachmen, and behave so, that, if they were slaves, they would be put into the slaves' prison.

146. The poet now proceeds to depict the degeneracy of the Roman aristocracy, their propensity to racing and low company. The fact that driving oneself was considered a vice is characteristic of an age when slaves were employed for everything.

147. Probably an example taken from the life. Weidner thinks of a T. Sextius Magius Lateranus, consul 94 A.D. under Domitian.

148. **multo sufflamine**, 'with the heavy drag;' the word is used metaphorically xvi. 50. See Rich s. v.

149. 'The moon and stars are so ashamed that they strain their eyes with astonishment as they behold it.' The phrase seems formed on the analogy of 'intendere aures.'

152. **trepidabit.** A word commonly used intransitively, but here used transitively, like Shakspeare's 'to bay the moon.' The usage is post-classical.

153. **iam senis**; and therefore worthy of the more respect.

virga. Apuleius in his Florida 21 describes this salute, 'virgam in laevam manum transferunt itaque expedita dextra adeunt ac salutant.'

155. **interea.** 'Meanwhile, during his actual consulship, while he is actually performing the solemn sacrifice at the "feriae Latinae," when the consuls yearly sacrificed a steer to Jupiter Latiaris, he thinks of nothing but horseflesh.' Weidner shows that **robus** was used merely for 'robustus.'

157. **Epona.** The goddess of horses: as Bubona was the goddess of oxen. The letter 'p' is often found in the Italian dialects as representing Latin qu or k. It must not, however, be assumed with Corssen, i. 115, that Indo-European k can ever be held to represent the Latin p. Thus, besides 'Epona' and 'popina,' we find 'palumbes' not of Latin but of Oscan origin; while 'poena' is of course of Greek origin—see Handbuch d. k. A. Wissenschaft p. 172: thus Oscan po, Gr. *πο-* in *πῶς* = 'quo,' cf. sequ- with *ἕπομαι*, and *pis* in Sabine = 'quis:' just as *ἵππος* = 'equus,' the older form being *ἵκκος*, and 'popina' in v. 158 answering to 'coquina.' In Apuleius, Met. 27, we learn that the hero of his romance found in his stable 'Eponae deae simulacrum residens aedicula.'

The 'facies pictae' are the portraits of the goddess rudely painted in the stable.

160. Rejected by Weidner on the ground of the difficulty involved in **Idumeae portae.** The pass between Cilicia and Syria (pylae Syriae) could hardly be meant. He seems to think of the Orient generally; and to speak of Idumea, the ancient Edom, as the 'porta' to Arabia. Cf. porta Syenes xi. 124.

161. The Oriental welcomes him with all the airs and graces of a well-bred host, and the dancing girl offers him refreshments.

168. The exact meaning of **thermarum calices** is matter of doubt. It probably refers to the warm drinks sold in the public taprooms attached to the thermae; cf. xi. 4. Here the riff-raff of Rome used to gather and carry on their orgies; cf. Plautus, Curc. ii. 1310, etc.

inscripta lintea probably refers to the scrolls or 'tituli' set over the liquor shops to attract the notice of guests. 'Inscriptio' was the regular word for a shop sign; cf. Plin. Ep. v. 19. 3. The sense is, 'Lateranus is strong enough and young enough to defend the Roman frontiers and to guard the Emperor's person. Send him to Ostia, Caesar, (whence he must embark for his expedition), but you will have to pick him out of some low pothouse.' Some have taken it as referring to the mouths of the rivers mentioned, but I prefer the interpretation given. 'Ostia' was used indifferently as feminine singular (no doubt from 'urbs' being thought of in connection with the word), or as neuter plural.

175. **Sandapilarum.** 'Coffins of wood' in which the poor and malefactors were buried, being conducted to the grave by Vespillones. Roman citizens were conducted, when dead, to the funeral pyre on a 'lectica.'

176. The **Gallus**, or priest of Cybele, is drunk on his back, his silent tambourine beside him. For the shamelessness of the 'Galli' or priests of Cybele see Satire ii. 82 sqq.

180. The town slaves were punished by being sent into the country, there to work on farms or in the quarries. **ergastulum** was the technical name for their dungeon. Plautus, who gives us so many pictures of slave life under the Romans, is full of references to the hard lot of these country slaves. Cf. Plaut. Mostell. i. 1. 13, etc., and Mart. ix. 23. 4. Lucania and Etruria especially had large 'latifundia,' since the almost total destruction of their free peasantry in the Second Punic War.

181. 'You of the blue blood of Rome have a different code of honour for yourselves.'

182. **Volesus** Valerius, the ancestor of the patrician gens Valeria, cf. Dio. Hal. ii. 46.

183–210. Others take to the stage, and are not ashamed to accept the applause of the people; others have actually descended to perform as gladiators!

183. 'But every depth has a lower one: we have lived to see Roman nobles emulating buffoons and play-actors.'

185. **Damasippus**, a spendthrift: his character had passed into a type from Horace, Sat. ii. 3.

186. **siparium**, 'the drop scene.' Here used for the stage. Siparum seems to have been an Oscan word meaning a sail. The word has survived under the form 'sipario' in modern Italian.

clamosum. To play the screaming 'ghost-part' of Catullus. This Catullus was a play-writer under Caligula. 'The ghost' in some form was a constant subject in Roman plays, e. g. the Mostellaria of Plautus; and Menander wrote a play with the title of 'Phasma.'

187. **Laureolus.** A tricky slave who got crucified for his pains: cf. Joseph. Antiq. xix. 1. 13; Suet. Cal. 57. Juvenal says that the aristocrat acted his part so well and naturally that he deserved real crucifixion.

189. **durior.** Shameless as was Lentulus, the people who can encourage him are more shameless still.

190. **triscurria**, 'the arch-buffooneries'— a word composed by Juvenal; tri- has an intensive meaning, as in 'trifurcifer.' Cf. Horace's 'felices ter et amplius,' and the Greek word *τρικυμία*, which survives in modern Greek with the meaning of 'a hurricane.'

191. **planipedes**, actors who played in low farces ('mimi'), so called because they wore no 'calcei' or 'cothurni.'

192. The difficulty in **funera** is that he is not speaking of gladiators: whence Ribbeck has adopted the reading 'munera,' which is unsupported by the MSS., but will bear the meaning of 'services.' Reading **funera**,

we must either suppose that Juvenal is for the moment speaking of Damasippus as having volunteered as a gladiator; or else that he is speaking of his moral death, which Weidner prefers. I prefer the former interpretation.

vendant. As Julius Caesar compelled the eques Dec. Laberius to appear on the stage, Macrob. Sat. ii. 7. 2. We learn from Suet. Nero 12 that Nero compelled many senators and knights to fight in the arena.

195. **gladios,** simply for 'death,' as in 'Antoni gladios potuit contemnere.' Some have thought of the meaning of the 'profession of gladiator,' but the context seems inconsistent with this.

196. **quid** for 'utrum' is a mark of late Latinity, sometimes found in prose.

197. 'Has any one ever fallen so low as to prefer to be the "mari soupçonneux" of Thymele (i. 36), or the mate of Corinthus, the stage-blockhead?' The characters of the new comedy, as is well known, were standing characters, as the 'currens servus,' the 'parasitus edax,' etc.; the **stupidus** seems to have been another of these: cf. an inscription of Orelli's, Inscr. Lat. 2645 found at Verona (cited by Weidner), 'Aurelius Eutychei, stupidus gregis urbanae.'

198. **citharoedo,** as Nero was.

199. 'There is only one lower depth: the gladiator's school.' Weidner would read 'ludius,' and scan it as a dissyllable; but this seems unnecessary.

200. Your nobleman disgraces his order by not even disguising himself as a 'mirmillo,' whose features were concealed by a helmet: but he appears as the 'retiarius,' who had to try and fling his net over his adversary, and transfix him with his trident. Should his attack fail, he had to run away. Thus the Roman noble twice disgraces himself, (1) by displaying his face, when for very shame he should hide it; (2) by assuming a *rôle* which entailed his running away.

201. The **Gracchus** whom he mentions appears here, as before, as a priest of Mars, decked in his priestly costume of the Salii: cf. Livy i. 20.

202. He scorns them; and acts on his feeling of scorn: it is no mere affectation.

203. He appears as a 'retiarius,' for which see Rich s. v.

205. **spectacula,** 'the places of the spectators,' for 'the spectators' themselves; just as 'servitia' stands for 'the slaves.'

207. 'We must believe the testimony of his priestly tunic (the 'tunica picta' of the Salii), which, picked out with gold, stretches from his neck downwards; and the gold ribbons flutter from his long conical cap.' The word **aurea** must be taken with both **tunica** and **spira.** 'Spirae' is the name of the two ties by which the bonnet of the Salian priests was fastened under the chin. He has donned a costume resembling that of the Salii, which at once attracts attention and challenges inquiry as to the wearer.

208. **galerus** is the regular word for the tall bonnet of the priests

of Mars. Mayor takes it as a leather guard serving as shield to the retiarius.

209. ergo, '*and so* the adversary of such a degenerate priest must feel that in fighting with him he had to submit to a disgrace worse than wounds or death.'

211–236. If people might say what they thought, would they not prefer a Seneca to a monster like Nero? Were Catiline and Cethegus the less monsters for their lofty birth?

212. 'If the people really had a free choice they would surely prefer Seneca the Stoic to his imperial murderer.' Lewis remarks that, according to Tac. Ann. xv. 65, some of those who joined in Piso's conspiracy against Nero, A.D. 65, had the ultimate aim of raising Seneca to the throne.

213. Nero was worthy of more than one parricide's punishment; he murdered his mother Agrippina, his brother Britannicus, and his wives Octavia and Poppaea. The punishment of the parricide, as we learn from the Digest xlviii. 9. 9, was, after being scourged, to be tied up in a sack with a dog, a cock, a snake, and an ape, and then cast into the sea or worried by wild beasts. Cicero, Rosc. Am. 25, gives the reason 'ut repente caelo, sole, aqua terraque privarentur.' Seneca, Clem. i. 23, says that under Claudius this punishment was more frequent than crucifixion.

215. It is true that Orestes was a matricide; but this was at the bidding of heaven: he spared the rest of his relatives; and never murdered Hermione or Electra as Nero murdered his adopted sister Antonia.

221. An intentional bathos: 'He never murdered the Epic of Troy as did Nero by writing wretched verses on this theme,' see Dio lxii. 29: cf. for a similar bathos Pope On the Characters of Women, 'And mistress of herself though China fall.'

quid enim, 'for what called for punishment more than this frivolity mingled with this atrocity?' Juvenal means to refer not merely to his crime in publishing wretched verses, but to his affectation in posing as a jockey or a fiddler; see Tac. Ann. xiv. 14.

222. Julius Vindex raised the standard of revolt in Gaul; Servius Galba in Spain; Verginius Rufus in Germany. The latter, at least on two occasions, refused the imperial throne; once after crushing Vindex, and once after the battle of Bedriacum. He was a remarkable character and a really great man; cf. Plin. Ep. ii. 1.

225. For Nero went about Greece fiddling, as Suetonius tells us in his Life.

227. He now turns to Nero and tells him to deck the statues of his ancestors with these frivolous trophies. Cn. Domitius was Agrippina's first husband: Nero's father was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Thyestes, Antigone, and Menalippe were tragic parts which Nero delighted to take; see Suet. Nero 21.

229. syrma, 'the cloak' of tragedy with a long sweeping train.

230. Nero had a colossal statue thirty feet high erected in the vesti-

bulum of his golden house, as we learn from Suet. Vita Neronis c. 31. This was however 'aeneus.'

231. 'Birth does not necessarily confer honesty. Catilina and Cethegus are instances to the contrary: remember how they were crushed by a young man of no family and unknown to fame.'

Catiline was of the 'gens Sergia,' a patrician gens which claimed as its ancestor Sergestus, the comrade of Aeneas, cf. Verg. Aen. v. 121. His great-grandfather, M. Sergius Silus, was, as Weidner puts it, the Götz von Berlichingen of the Second Punic War; cf. Plin. N. H. vii. 29. The **Cethegi** were of the 'gens Cornelia.'

234. As if they had been actual descendants of the old enemies of Rome, the Gauls: and of the Senones who invaded Italy under the Tarquins; cf. Livy v. 34.

235. 'The robe of pain' is described in Tac. Ann. xv. 44; see also Mart. x. 25. The frightful torture was invented by Nero of enveloping his victims in papyrus covered with wax, fastening them to stakes, and so burning them. The idea was that the victim represented the wick of a wax candle.

237–268. On the other hand Cicero, the Decii, and Marius, Rome's saviours, were all men of no birth.

237. **novus Arpinas.** Cicero, a 'novus homo,' the first of his family to occupy a curule office.

239. 'Extends his efforts over all the seven mounts.' Heinrich and others read 'gente,' which will mean 'the whole of Italy.'

241. **vix.** Other readings are dein, 'afterwards,' and 'non.' The reading of P is 'quantum in Leucadi;' 'non' is the reading of P manus secunda.

243. Rome was free when she called Cicero **pater patriae**, but enslaved when she honoured Octavius.

245. There was another man of Arpinum, C. Marius, who rose 'e plebe infima' Tac. Hist. ii. 38. Juvenal says 'he was first of all a common ploughman, and afterwards, as a common soldier, he received blows on his head which broke the wand of the centurion (**vitis**).' Plutarch. Mar. 13 speaks of his proverbial patience. Cf. Livy lvii. for the use of the 'vitis' which was applied to Roman soldiers, while foreigners were visited with the 'fustis.'

248. **dolabra.** An instrument employed for making stockades, a pick-axe, having a long handle and double head. An illustration is given in Rich.

250. Catulus and Marius united to overthrow the **Cimbri** at Vercellae, B.C. 101.

253. Plut. Mar. 27 tells us that Catulus and Sulla exerted themselves to deprive Marius of his due meed of praise, but the people saw the truth.

254. **P. Decius Mus**, father and son, Livy viii. 9, x. 28, sacrificed themselves for their country; the father in the battle at Vesuvius against the Latin league, 340 B.C.; the son at the battle of Sentinum against the Samnites.

295 L 6.

258. 'For the **Decii** are worth more in the eyes of the gods below than all they died for.'

259. **ancilla natus**, Servius Tullius. Sat. vii. 199.

trabeam. An old Indo-European word, appearing in Sanskrit as 'tārpja' (Vaniček p. 307), where it means a robe woven from a material made out of some plant: in Latin, it means a 'toga' ornamented with horizontal stripes of purple, adopted by the kings as a royal robe, and bequeathed by them to the consuls and knights. See Rich s. v.

262. **iuvenes.** The sons of Brutus, whom their father executed for treasonably endeavouring to restore the Tarquins. 'These,' says Juvenal, 'would have been far better employed in risking their lives for liberty and extorting the admiration of true patriots, such as Cocles, who held the bridge against Porsena, and Cloelia, who escaped from Porsena and swam the Tiber.'

265. **natavit** takes the quasi cognate accusative 'Tiberinum,' as Cicero, De Fin. ii. 112, uses 'terram navigare' and 'mare ambulare.' Juvenal, as usual, instead of giving her name, gives the exploit by which she is famous.

266. The slave's name was Vendicius; he discovered the secret at a supper-party, and warned the consuls of the impending danger; he was as worthy of being mourned for by the matrons as was Junius Brutus, who fell in the fight, and who, according to Livy ii. 7, was mourned for a whole year by the Roman matrons: 'quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.'

268. **legum.** The reign of law—i.e. the Republic, cf. Livy xi. 3. 4, where 'rex' and 'leges' are sharply contrasted.

268–275. After all, if we only go back far enough, we are all descended from Romulus's shepherds;—or from thieves.

269. **Thersites**, proverbial for a low braggart, from Homer, Il. ii. 212.

272. 'And still, after all is said, though you may trace your name ever so far back, your ancestor must have been one of those who filled the asylum.' Spoken of by Livy i. 8. Cf. Dionys. Hal. xi. 15.

SATIRE X.

ON THE VANITY OF AMBITION.

THIS splendid Satire, Juvenal's masterpiece, has been often copied and translated. Mayor gives a list of the best-known translations and copies, among which is Johnson's 'Vanity of human wishes.'

With the whole Satire compare M. Antoninus viii.

1–22. From furthest west to furthest east few are they who know true good from its counterfeit: men pray for their bane: eloquence, strength, wealth, magnificence, the aims of all, too often prove a fatal gift.

23–53. What wonder then that philosophers should now laugh, now weep at the sight of such misdirected prayers? Democritus laughed

even at the follies of his times, how much more would he have laughed at the fussy pomp of Roman games!

54–113. Great power entails great envy: the idol of one day is the scape-goat of the next: think of Sejanus: would you change with him, or prefer to live a humble potentate in a country town unknown but unenvied? Think of Crassus too and Pompeius and Caesar: how many tyrants die a natural death?

133–187. The spoils of war and symbols of conquest are deemed the highest good: none care for virtue if you take away its rewards, and yet consider the career of Hannibal. He defied Nature and had his hand on Rome. How much does he weigh now? Alexander, who chafed at the narrow bounds of a single world, has to be content with a sarcophagus: Xerxes' host was so numerous that it drank up the rivers for breakfast, and yet its commander returned disgraced, in a single ship.

188–288. Length of years is ever prayed for: but a long life brings sorrows of its own: our powers decay, our features grow repulsive, our friends and relations die. Nestor lived but to mourn Antilochus; Peleus to mourn Achilles; Priam to see Troy the prey of fire and sword; Hecuba to die a dog's death: look also at Mithridates, Croesus, Marius, and Pompeius.

289–345. Beauty again, much sought, proves but a bane to its possessor; think of Lucretia, Virginia; virtue itself could not save Bellerophon or Hippolytus, and think of Silius and his terrible fate.

346–365. The gods should be left to choose what is for your good: pray for a sound mind in a sound body, and a courageous heart, which scorns death and luxury alike: this you can procure for yourself.

1. **Gadibus.** 'From Gades to Ganges,' etc., from furthest west to furthest east; a proverbial expression, as we see from Cicero, De Domo sua 30.

usque, 'as far as,' used without 'ad,' as in Cicero, In Pis. § 51 'usque Romam.'

2. **Auroram et Gangen** must be taken closely together. Cf. the German use of Morgenland for the East.

3. **illis multum diversa.** A litotes, 'their greatest contrasts,' i. e. the greatest evil. 'Diversus' is used with a dative in Hor. Ep. i. 18. 5. 'Multum' is one of many words found in Latin to intensify the meaning of a simple adjective. It is common in Plautus, but not in Terence. Other such words are 'valde,' 'vehementer,' 'admodum,' 'adfatim,' etc. Adjectives signifying 'difference from' are more commonly followed by a preposition in the classical poets; other such words are 'discors,' used by Ovid, and in ecclesiastical Latin we find 'ingratus' used in the same way. See Handbuch der k. A. W. p. 276.

4. **erroris nebula.** Taken from Plato, Alc. ii. 150 *τὴν ἀχλὺν τῆς ψυχῆς*, who himself refers to Homer, Il. v. 127 seq., where Athena removes the mist from the eyes of Diomedes.

ratione, 'rationally,' *ὀρθῶς*. These ablatives of manner commonly take 'cum,' unless an adjective precedes them. Vergil, however, can write 'montes clamore relinquunt.' Montaigne works out this thought and quotes this passage in his Apology for Raimond de Sebonde.

5. 'On what scheme do you enter so auspiciously, that you do not rue your effort, and your prayer vouchsafed?' The right foot should be moved first to ensure good luck. In Petronius 30 a slave is appointed to shout to the guests entering the dining-hall 'dextro pede!' In Vitruvius iii. 3 we are told that the steps of a temple should be odd in number, that the worshipper should place his right foot on the lowest step first, and should also enter the temple right foot foremost. Cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 302 'tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.' Vergil was celebrated for his exact knowledge of ritual. To express conceiving an idea, we find commonly 'mente concipere.' Juvenal writes 'pede,' *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*.

7. For the sentiment cf. Seneca, Epp. 95 'Dei aliquando specie boni puniunt.' **evertere**, aorist of habit.

domos, 'families,' as in Verg. Aen. i. 284 'domus Assaraci.'

ipsis, 'the masters.'

8. **faciles**, 'good easy beings.' Cf. Martial i. 104. 4 'Riserunt faciles et tribuere Dei.'

9. **torrens copia.** The impetuous volume of their own eloquence. Cf. iii. 74 'Isaeo torrentior.'

10. **sua facundia**, their native power of speech, which should have defended them.

11. **ille.** Milo of Crotona, 'wedged in the timber which he strove to rend.'

periit. The last syllable is lengthened, as in vi. 295 and iii. 194. Possibly such lengthenings are reminiscences of the older form of the perfect ending in -eit, as 'redi-eit,' which seems to have been lengthened by analogy with the first person ending in ī. See Handbuch der k. A. W. p. 233.

12. **plures** is emphatic. 'Most are choked by money, and an income far above all other revenues.'

13. **exuperans.** We must here understand 'tanto.'

14. Wonderful tales were told of the whales of the north, 'that sea-beast Leviathan, which God of all His works Created hugest that swim the ocean-stream.' Cf. Horace, Od. iv. 14. 47, and especially Plin. N. H. ix. 5.

15. **igitur**, 'and so—*since* riches work so powerfully—in the reign of terror.'

16. **Longinum.** Caius Cassius Longinus was consul and praetor, and a celebrated jurist. Cf. Suetonius, Nero 37. Tacitus, Ann. xvi. 7, tells us that he was accused by Nero 'nullo crimine nisi quod Cassius opibus vetustis et gravitate morum praecellebat.' He was banished. **Longinum claudere** = 'Longini domum claudere,' cf. Livy v. 52. 10 'Iuno dedicata est' for 'fanum Iunonis.'

Senecae. Tac. Ann. xv. 64 calls Seneca 'praedives et praepotens;' from the same authority, xiii. 42, we find that P. Suillius asked how Seneca had in four years amassed 300,000,000 sesterces.

17. **Lateranorum.** Plautius Lateranus, who, like Seneca, suffered death for joining in Piso's conspiracy from patriotic motives. Tacitus, Ann. xv. 60, says 'Illo propinqua vespera tribunus venit et villam globis militum saepsit.' His palace was on the Cælian mount. The change of tense from **clausit** to **obsidet** gives a picture. The soldiers have closed Seneca's house, and are now proceeding to beset Lateranus.

18. 'Those who are worth arresting for their money are not found in attics.' **cenacula** are 'attics' on the upper floor, which was let to the poor; cf. Cic. De Leg. Agr. ii. 96 and Juv. iii. 201. Varro, L. L. v. 33, says they were so called 'posteaquam in superiore parte cenitare coeperunt.'

19. 'If you only carry a little silver, and that quite plain;' unembossed as contrasted with 'asperum,' 'in relief.'

20. **contus**, said to be a Sarmatian word; it occurs, however, in Greek as *κοντός*, connected with *κέντρον*.

21. **ad lunam**, '*in* the moonlight,' like the French 'à clair de la lune.' P reads 'umbram,' 'a shadow,' the reading of the text.

trepidare with the accusative. As Horace uses 'contremo' Od. ii. 12. 7; cf. Shakspeare's 'to bay the moon,' for to bay at the moon.

22. The thought 'you cannot rob a beggar,' seems to have been common. Cf. Apuleius, Met. i. 11 'An ignoras, inepte, nudum nec a decem palaestritis despoliari posse?'

23. '*And still* the first wish and prayer is for riches.'

25. **arca**, 'money-box.' The Romans deposited their ready money with the 'argentarius,' who carried on business in the forum.

nulla aconita. A grim picture of the morality of the times, and a reminiscence of Locusta and her doings.

27. 'And the Setian wine shall show its fire in spacious gold cups.' The Setian was an expensive wine, as we are told by Strabo v. 234, and Juvenal, Sat. xiii. 213.

28. **iamne igitur.** 'Surely now then you must approve of the opposite feelings of the two philosophers—Democritus, who laughed, Heraclitus, who wept, as he passed his threshold?' The contrast between the two philosophers was a commonplace. Seneca, De Ira ii. 10. 5, gives the same account of them, citing their names. Montaigne has an essay upon them (No. 50) wherein this passage is cited.

30. **contrarius auctor**, a condensed expression for 'contrariae sententiae auctor;' cf. Caesar, De Bello Civ. iii. 108 'Conscios sui' = conscios suorum consiliorum.

31. 'But the reproach of a sneering smile is cheap and easy to any one: the marvel is how the store of tears for the other's eyes held out.'

34. **urbibus illis.** Abdera and Ephesus.

35. Juvenal must not be understood to conceive of the insignia of office as in themselves ridiculous: he would fain retain all that is noble

in the past; but he has no patience with the aspirants to the offices of which those insignia are the badge. The **praetexta** was a white gown, bordered with a purple stripe, worn by several magistrates. The **trabea** was the state robe of the 'equites.' The **tribunal** was the praetor's.

36–53. How much more would the laughing philosopher have laughed if he could have seen the fussy pomp of a Roman praetor with his bought friends on the way to the games!

36–46. A description of the 'pompa' or procession which opened the Circensian games: the presiding magistrate is spoken of as praetor and as consul; he might be either.

38. **tunica.** This refers to the 'tunica palmata,' so called from the palm branches worked on it (Mayor). It was borrowed for the occasion from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Juvenal speaks ironically as if the praetor had borrowed Jove's tunic for the occasion.

Sarrana, Tyrian; the word 'Tyrus' represents the Aramaic *Sor* or Zor. The folds of the 'toga' are so stiff with gold that Juvenal calls them curtains.

41. **publicus** with 'servus.' A public slave holds the crown, and rides in the same chariot as the praetor, to remind the latter that he is after all but mortal. Pliny, H. N. xxxiii. 1. 4. 11, speaks of the same thing.

43. **da nunc.** 'Then think of,' etc. Cf. the use of 'cedo' Sat. xii. 210.

45. **officia,** 'the clients:' the thing put for the person, as in viii. 219 'coniugium' for 'coniux.'

niveos = 'albatos,' white being the colour for festive occasions. Cf. Mart. i. 55. 14 'urbanis albus in officiis.'

Quirites, ironical. 'Rome's proud citizens have lost their hearts to the dole.' Contrast this with Vergil's use of Quirites in Georgic iv. 201 to ennoble the bees.

46. **defossa,** 'stowed safe away.'

47. **tum quoque.** '*But* even in olden times the laughing philosopher found plenty to laugh at.'

ad omnes occursus hominum, i. e. 'each time he met a human being.'

50. **Vervecum in patria:** Abdera, celebrated for the obtuseness of its inhabitants; cf. 'Abderitanae pectora plebis habes' Martial x. 25, i. e. 'you belong to the country of blockheads.' The jokes cited against the Abderites by Mayor are mostly of the nature of Irish bulls.

crasso sub aere. The Athenians prided themselves on their keen-wittedness and intellectual acumen, which they ascribed to their λαμπρότατος αἰθήρ: the verse seems a reminiscence of Horace, Ep. ii. 1. 244 'Boeotum in crasso iurares aere natum.'

52. 'When Fortune frowned he bid her go hang, and pointed at her with his middle finger:' the sign of scorn, called by Persius 'infamis' ii. 33.

54–113. 'Tis ambition which brings most to their ruin: witness

Seianus, to-day the people's idol, the next their scape-goat. Would you change with him? No! few tyrants die a bloodless death.

54. The MSS. reading is 'supervacua aut perniciosa;' to avoid the hiatus Jahn read **aut vel**. The meaning then will be 'and so things superfluous or actually harmful are craved, to gain which 'tis deemed right to set wax on the knees of the gods.' The wax tablets were fastened to the knees of the god to remind him of the vows of the suppliant. Cf. *νέοις πίναξι βρέτεα κοσμῆσαι τάδε* Aesch. Supp. 463 (quoted by Mayor). Lachmann, ad Lucr. ii. 27, would read 'Ergo, supervacua aut ne perniciosa petantur, propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum?' Cf. Apuleius, Apologia 'votum in alicuius statuae femore assignasti.'

56–113. Lofty rank gives no abiding security.

56. **subiecta potentia**, a kind of oxymoron—'power, the thrall of envy in high places.'

57. **longa pagina**, the 'tabula generis et honorum,' containing the list of the offices held by a man: it was hung up in front of his statue.

60. **caballis**. The popular word for 'horse,' whence come the Romance words 'cheval' and 'cavallo.'

63. Ben Jonson in his 'Sejanus' translates this part of this Satire; the play should be read in connection with it.

65. 'Hang bays over your doors, as if for some great festival, Seianus' body is being dragged along by the hook, a sight for all to see.' **uncus** is 'the hook or drag . . . by which the corpses of convicts were drawn from the neighbouring carcer, where they had been strangled, to the "Scalae Gemoniae"' (Mayor).

66. **cretatum**. If he is not pure white, he must be chalked to make him appear so, as a victim was.

67. The conversation of two spectators returning home from the demolition of the statue. 'I never liked the man! but what was he accused of, and what were the proofs?' 'Oh, none were necessary, Tiberius' long letter to the senate was the warrant!' 'Good—I ask no more!'

69. **cecidit** seems used in the technical sense of being 'cast in a suit;' cf. iv. 12 'Caderet sub iudice morum.'

71. The whole scene of Seianus' fall is described by Dio viii. 4. See also Suet. Tib. 65.

73. Weidner's explanation of the use of **Remi** 'that it denotes the people who from their first traditions are accustomed to fratricide,' seems fanciful. 'Remi' suits the scansion, though there also seems something contemptuous in the use of 'Remi,' cf. Catullus' mention of the degenerate Romans as 'Remi nepotes.' (58. 6.)

74. **Nortia**. The Etruscan goddess of Fortune, see Livy vii. 3. 7. Thus Juvenal means 'if the Etruscan deity had smiled on her own countryman.'

77. 'Since we have had votes to sell we have nothing to do.' Tacitus, Ann. i. 15, tells us that this was Tiberius' doing. 'Not till now were the elections transferred from the Campus to the Senate.'

79. 'Now sits at home, and longs fretfully but for two things—bread and the games.'

81. **Circenses**, i. e. ludos. Cf. viii. 118. **panem** refers to the gratuitous donations of corn made by the emperors to the poorer citizens, which drew to the capital the loungers of the country, and made Rome the gathering-place of the riff-raff of Italy.

perituros. Another conversation. 'I hear there are to be many executions!' 'No doubt of it, many another statue will go into the furnace: my friend Brutidius, when I met him to-day in the Campus Martius, was quite pale.' The contest between Aiax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles was a common theme for declamation, cf. vii. 115. Mayor thinks that Seianus is here called Aiax, and that Brutidius defended him and failed: hence he, ill-defended, avenges himself on his lukewarm advocate, gloating over his terror from the other world. It seems simpler to refer Aiax to Tiberius, and to suppose that Juvenal has transferred the epithet which suited Aiax to Tiberius, whom it did not precisely fit.

87. 'But let our slaves see that we insult our Caesar's enemy, to prevent their turning round and accusing us of lack of loyalty.' The testimony of slaves was accepted in the case of persons accused of high-treason, and Tiberius employed this as a useful way of arriving at the secrets of the nobility of his time. Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 28. 30.

90. **salutari.** To have as many attendants on your morning 'salutatio.'

91. **illi**, more commonly *huic* and *illi*, though 'ille' followed by 'illi' is not uncommon.

93. **augusta.** Another reading is 'angusta.' 'Augusta' will point to the majesty conferred on the barren rock by the presence of the Emperor with his horde. Suetonius tells us that 'Tiberius was nicknamed *Caprineus* from his love of Capri,' no doubt with a further allusion to his incontinence.

94. **cum grege Chaldaeo.** Chaldaei was the common name given to astrologers. Cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 27.

pila, as 'primipilus centurio:' **cohortes** as 'tribunus militum.'

95. **egregios equites.** The technical name given to rich young men of promise by Augustus was 'equites illustres,' or 'splendidi;' these were regarded by him as forming a nursery for future statesmen. Cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 4. It is probably to these that Juvenal here refers.

castra domestica. The praetorians, collected by Seianus into a standing camp. The meaning is, 'You would like to have army appointments at your disposal, and body guards as well.'

97. 'What lot so brilliant or prosperous is worth having on condition (ut = ἐφ' ᾧτε) that the corresponding measure of evil shall accompany it?'

99. 'Would you rather wear the "praetexta" of a Seianus than be the "podestà" of some country town like Ulubrae, in his tawdry state?' **Ulubrae** is named by Horace as the type of a small country town, Ep. i. 11. 30; and **Gabii** ib. 7.

105. **numerosa.** He was adding storey to storey that his fall might be the more crushing. The thought is similar to that in Hor. Od. ii. 10 10 'Celsae graviore casu Decidunt turres.'

107. **impulsae ruinae** means 'of the falling building set toppling over.' 'Ruina' is used in the same sense in Ovid, Trist. i. 9 'At simul impulsa est (domus ruens) omnes timuere ruinam.'

praeceps, 'the dizzy height,' used substantively, as in Sat. i. 136.

108. **Crassos and Pompeios** as types of their class: cf. Verg. Aen. i. 185 'Anthea si quem . . . videat.'

109. Roman citizens might not be scourged; the 'horribile flagellum' is spoken of by Horace as a severe punishment even for a slave.

111. **exaudita.** 'Vows overheard;' cf. Cicero, Ep. Att. xiii. 48. The idea seems to be that the malicious deity was eavesdropping. It was not the wish for power, but the fact of that wish being granted that proved fatal.

112. **generum.** Pluto, whose wife was Proserpina, daughter of Ceres. As usual, Juvenal prefers to indicate the person of whom he is speaking by a periphrasis.

114–132. Oratory again, and love of eloquence have proved the bane of many. Schoolboys think with envy on Demosthenes and Cicero. Good were it for the one had he been remembered as a poetaster only; for the other had he never left his father's forge.

115. **Quinquatria**, 'the festival of Minerva,' which lasted from the 19th of March till the 23rd, five days according to Roman reckoning The word originally denoted the fifth day after the Ides, but it was commonly taken to be derived from the number of days it comprised. Scholars brought gifts during the festival to Minerva, the patroness of learning: cf. Ovid, Fast. iii. 815 'Qui bene placarit Pallada, doctus erit.' Cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 196.

116. i. e. 'Who adores the goddess of learning so frugally minded as to sell her graces for a single copper.' This refers to the school-fee, paid monthly. Horace expresses his joy at having been saved from such a preparatory school (Sat. i. 6. 75 'octonos referentes Idibus aeris'), kept by a 'ludi magister' of no great learning. Cf. Palmer's note on the passage.

117. He is so young that the 'paedagogus' or trusty slave takes him to school, as Horace's father (l. c. supra) took him. Marquardt, vol. vi. p. 111, supposes the 'capsarius' to be a different slave from the 'paedagogus;' and it seems from Suetonius, Nero 36, that sometimes a 'capsarius' as well as a 'paedagogus' was employed, 'Constat, quosdam cum paedagogis et capsariis uno prandio pariter necatos.'

118. **perit**, perfect tense. Cf. iii. 174 'tandemque redit ad pulpita.'

119. 'The torrent of their own eloquence has drowned them.' This final use of the dative seen in leto is found in Verg. Aen. v. 451 'It clamor caelo,' and in Horace, Sat. ii. 5. 49 'Agere Orco.' Cf. also Apul. Met. v. 2 'Cubiculo te refer.'

120. **ingenio**, dative. Genius is personified. 'Genius lost hand and

head' (Mayor). This describes Cicero's fate, whose hand and head were cut off and hung from the rostra. Cf. Liv. Epitome 120.

121. **rostra.** For a learned discussion on the 'rostra' see the Edinburgh Review, Feb. 1885. The tribune in the Roman forum from which public men addressed the people was so called because it was ornamented with ships' beaks, taken from the Antiates in the Latin War. See Rich s. v.

'A squat lawyer of no presence,' a 'salaputium disertum' (cf. Catullus iii. 5), 'never need fear for his life.'

122. An unfortunate jingling line written by the orator and quoted by Quintilian as one of those 'quae non desierunt carpere maligni.' 'Had all he spoke or wrote been like this, he would have had nothing to fear.'

123. **potuit** would be naturally 'potuisset;' cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 132 'Et si non alium late iactaret odorem Laurus *erat*.' The past tenses of the verb 'possum' are constantly employed in the indicative, where a subjunctive occurs in the protasis, cf. Cic. de Rep. iii. 29, Liv. xxii. 12.

The words are taken from Cicero's own Second Philippic 118 'Defendi rempublicam adolescens, non deseram senex: contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos.'

125. The Second Philippic was a common topic in the schools of the rhetoricians. Dio Cassius published an imitation of it, which contains also a reply by a friend of Antony's.

126. **volveris.** In reference to the scroll.

illum. Demosthenes.

128. **moderantem frena,** a characteristic metaphor so often used among the Romans that it would hardly be felt as such; for a similar confusion cf. Verg. Georg. i. 514 'neque audit currus habenas.'

theatrum refers to the theatre of Dionysus on the S.W. of the Acropolis, where the great assemblies of the people were sometimes held.

130. **lippus,** blinded by his trade as μαχαιροποιός; perhaps with the implied idea 'had he seen further into the future, he would have acted otherwise.' As a matter of fact the father was wealthy and died when his son was only seven years old; but the poet uses a poet's licence to point his own moral.

132. **Vulcanus,** for the fire, as Verg. Aen. vii. 77 'Vulcanum spargere tectis.'

133–187. 'Not the least fatal of ambitions is the wish to win laurels in war; look at Hannibal in his life and in his death!' Think of Alexander and of Xerxes!

133. **truncis tropaeis,** 'trophy-stumps;' possibly with reference to Vergil, Aen. xi. 5, where the trophy is an actual stump.

136. **aplustre,** properly = ἄφλαστον: the sign of a ship on the bowsprit; also, as here, 'the flagstaff.'

138. 'To gain such prize, Roman, Greek, and barbarian generalissimo has aspired.'

induperator, he uses sarcastically the archaic form, 'the general in the good old times.' Cf. iv. 39.

140. **inde** parallel to **hoc** in l. 137; 'from such prizes drew he his motives for risking peril,' etc.

141. **ipsam** is emphatic: 'for its own self.'

144. **haesuri**, 'meant to stay firm on the grave-stones which guard the ashes; stones which, however, are pushed aside by the wild growth of the barren fig-tree; for even the tomb has its day of death.' See Pope's Epistles v.

'See the wild waste of all devouring years!
How Rome her own sad sepulchre appears,
With nodding arches, broken temples, spread!
The very tombs now vanished like their dead!'

Cf. also Mart. x. 2. 9 'Marmora Messalae findit caprificus.'

147. The thought is the same as in Aeschylus Ag. 429 ἀντήνορος σποδοῦ γεμίζων λέβητας εὐθέτους.

149. **Nilo tepenti.** Lucan gives the reason for the heat, Phars. x. 214 'Cancrumque tenet, cui subdita Nili Ora latent.'

150. **rursum** = 'reversum:' turning in the opposite direction, thus 'to the south.' Some word like 'pertinens' must be supplied in sense from 'admota.'

152. **transilit**, contemptuous. 'He skips over,' like Horace's 'non tangenda rates transiliunt vada.'

153. The story is from Livy xxi. 37; cf. also Pliny, N. H. xxiii. 21. 71. Polybius is silent on the subject.

156. **Subura.** As the most populous district in Rome, in the hollow between the Esquiline and the Viminal. **pono**, 'I plant with my own hand.'

158. The elephant carrying the one-eyed captain is from Livy xxii. 2 'Elephanto, qui unus superfuerat, quo altius ab aqua exstaret, vectus: vigiliis tamen et nocturno humore palustrique caelo paranti caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.'

161. **praetoria**, used simply for a palace in post-classical Latin.

164. Not a stone, like that which killed Pyrrhus.

166. **I**, 'go to now,' an expression of scorn; cf. Horace Ep. i. vi. 17 'I nunc argentum et marmor vetus aeraque et artes Suspice.'

167. Hannibal was a constant theme for declamation: cf. Satire vii. 161, and cf. Cic. Qu. Fr. iii. 1. 4 'Quod scribis, miror, tibi placere me ad eam rescribere, praesertim quum illam nemo vecturus sit si ego nihil rescripsero, meam in illum pueri omnes tamquam dictata perdicant.'

168. Alexander, born at Pella 356 B.C.; he died at Babylon 323 B.C.

170. As if he had been 'deportatus in insulam.' For **Gyaros** see Tacitus, Ann. iv. 30.

171. Babylon, which Herodotus describes as 'built in the shape of a square, with a broad ditch round it, the clay dug from which made the bricks for its walls' (Hdt. i. 186). Cf. Ovid, Met. iv. 57.

172. **sarcophagus.** Pliny, N. H. ii. 98, tells us that this name was originally applied to a particular kind of limestone quarried at Assos in the Troad, remarkable for its peculiar power of consuming the flesh and bones: 'Circa Asson Troadis lapis nascitur quo consumuntur omnia corpora: sarcophagus vocatur.' Hence it was applied generally to a coffin.

fatetur, 'brings out.'

173. **quantula.** Diminutives are a marked characteristic of the Silver age; they were likewise common in Plautus, and doubtless in the spoken Latin, and many modern French substantives are formed from them, as 'abeille' from 'apicula.'

174. The story is told in Herodotus vii. 21 sqq. 'how Xerxes cut a canal through the isthmus connecting the peninsula with Chalcidice.' The trace of this canal is still most distinctly to be seen: see Lieut. Wolfe's remarks quoted in the article on Athos in the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.

175. **constratum classibus isdem.** Herodotus vii. 33, 36.

177. The words of Herodotus are *κοῖον δὲ πινόμενόν μιν ὕδωρ οὐκ ἐπέλιπε, πλὴν τῶν μεγάλων ποταμῶν.* The *prandium* is the *late breakfast* between the *ientaculum* and the *coena*. Thus the sense is, 'they say that the rivers were drunk up by the Mede even for his breakfast.'

178. **Sostratus** (an unknown poet) recited with such excitement that he perspired. Such a proceeding in the ancients excited rather ridicule than disgust. Horace had made enemies by coupling Gargonius with 'hircus.' The language seems suggested by Ovid, Met. i. 264 'madidis notus evolat alis.'

183. The story is from Hdt. vii. 35. It was a common theme for declamation, and Juvenal's avowed disbelief of the Greek legends would not be inconsistent with a belief that Xerxes was capable of such a mad freak.

183, 184. 'Too kind a punishment, on my word; did he not think of branding him as well? What God would consent to be a slave to a tyrant like this?' Herodotus says that he actually was reported to have branded the sea.

187. **totiens** with 'optata.'

188–237. Length of days, the universal prayer, is but increasing misery. Think of its ailments, its bereavements, of the anguish of its solitude! Cf. the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (old age), *οὐλόμενον, καματηρόν, ὅτε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.*

189. **alto vultu,** the reading of P, seems to mean with 'countenance bold and confident;' as in Hor. Od. iv. 9. 42 'Reiecit alto dona nocentium Vultu;' **pallidus,** 'wan' with anxiety. 'Men pray for old age whether in good fortune or in bad.'

190. Cf. Hamlet's remarks to Polonius, Act i. Sc. 2. Cf. also Lucret. lib. iii. 452 quoted by Montaigne in his Essay on Old Age, which has many thoughts in common with this passage.

192. **dissimilem.** 'unlike its proper self.'

cutis is 'a man's skin;' **pellis**, 'a beast's hide.'

194. **Thabraca**, on the coast of Africa to the west of Carthage, still called Tabarka.

196. 'Youths have many points of difference: old men all look alike.'

199. 'The drivelling nose of second childhood.'

209. 'Nay, he is deprived of the pleasures of hearing as well.'

212. The construction is 'et cantantibus iis quibus mos est,' etc. The **citharoedi** appeared in public in rich attire, the 'palla' and 'syrma;' Juvenal calls the 'palla' here **lacerna** as effeminate. Cf. i. 27 'Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas.'

216. Sundials (solaria) did not come into use at Rome till the Second Punic War. In Cicero's time we find 'clepsydrae' or 'water-clocks' spoken of in private houses; cf. Cic. Ad Fam. xvi. 18. § 3. These were kept in public places at the expense of the state. Rich men kept slaves to announce the hours; cf. Mart. viii. 67 'Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nuntiat et tu Iam conviva mihi Caeciliane venis.'

219. A parody of passages like Verg. Georg. ii. 103 and Ovid, Epist. ex Pont. ii. 27, etc.

221. Pliny, N. H. xxix. 1. 5, speaks of a 'Themison of Laodicea who is said to have been the first to employ leeches.' Professional men were however in the habit of assuming the name of their predecessors, so that the **Themison** mentioned here may be some Roman practitioner who assumed the name of the Laodicean. Juvenal's 'Themison' was like the doctor described by Voltaire in L'Ingénu 'qui au lieu d'aider la nature et de la laisser agir, ne fut occupé que de contrecarrer son confrère.'

222. **Basilus**, mentioned vii. 145 as a needy lawyer. The **socii** are members of some trading company, possibly farmers of taxes, and Basilus was probably the 'magister societatis.'

226. This line occurs in i. 25 and is probably a parody of Vergil, Ecl. i. 29 'Candidior postquam tondenti barba sonabat.'

228. Cf. the French proverb 'dans le royaume des aveugles le borgne est roi.'

231. 'He has to be fed like a young bird.' Cf. Hom. Il. iv. 323.

236. The old man is *malicious* enough to wish to disinherit his own children; but so feeble is his memory that he, fortunately for them, forgets that in order to do this he must expressly mention the reasons besides stating the fact, Justinian, Institutes ii. 13. 18.

238–264. Had Nestor died early he had not lived to mourn Antilochus, nor Peleus to lose Achilles; further, Priam might have had a happy end, and Hecuba been saved from her unnatural fate, had they but died young.

240. **ut**, 'even granted that.'

246. **rex Pylius**, Nestor.

247. **a cornice**, for 'a vita cornicis.' Cf. 'Sermo plenus et Isaeo torrentior' iii. 74. Hesiod, fragments 163 (Göttl.), says that 'the crow outlived three generations of men.'

249. 'He was more than a hundred years old:' the 'saeculum' or

'generation' is the third of a century. Nestor has outlived three 'saecula,' now begins to count his years on his right hand, ἀναπεμπάζεσθαι. Units and tens were counted on the left hand, and hundreds on the right hand.

253. i.e. 'Cum quaerit ab omni socio quisquis adest.'

256. **Peleus.** Hom. Il. xviii. 434 sq.

257. **alium,** i.e. Laertes. **Ithacum** is Ulysses. 'Fas' implies natural duty.

261. Cf. Homer, Il. 723 sqq. where the funeral wail over the bier of Hector is described. **Cassandra** is here represented as chief mourner.

265–280. Mithridates, Croesus, Marius, Pompey, all bear witness to the same truth.

265. **dies,** meaning 'length of time,' is commonly feminine: and generally masculine when it means 'a day.'

266. Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 505 sq. and Cicero, Tusc. Disp. i. § 85, where the following passage is quoted from Ennius' Andromache:—

'Hac omnia vidi inflammari,
Priamo vi vitam evitari,
Iovis aram sanguine turpari.'

Cf. Hamlet:—

'Anon he finds him
Striking too short at Greeks: his antique sword
Rebellious to his arm, lies where it falls,
Repugnant to command.'

270. **ab** is used with lifeless things when they are represented as acting (Mayor). Hence the plough is here half personified.

271. 'His death, however, painful as it was, was a man's death: Hecuba survived only to yelp as a cur.' For the fate of Hecuba, which was proverbial among the ancients, cf. Eurip. Hecuba 1265; Ovid, Met. xiii. 565.

273. Mithridates, king of Pontus, whose death is described by Appian, Mith. 111.

274. **Croesum.** Herod. i. 30–32. Weidner quotes a line out of Solon (Sol. Eleg. 5 Schneidewin) in which he says, referring to the rulers, καὶ τοῖς ἐφρασάμην μηδὲν ἀεικὲς ἔχειν. This will explain the epithet **iustus.** His words to Croesus were that 'in all things we must have regard to the end.'

276. 'Nor was Marius more fortunate; it was long life which brought him to exile, to prison, and to beg his bread.' In his flight from Sulla, 88 B.C., he was landed near Minturnae, where he hid in a swamp. He was dragged forth and put into prison at Minturnae. Released thence he crossed over to Carthage, and on the praetor Sextilius warning him not to land, he replied to his messenger, 'Tell him that you have seen C. Marius sitting an exile amid the ruins of Carthage.'

281. **opimam,** 'in its glory;' 'opimus' means properly 'fat,' and Plautus in his Captivi, ii. 2. 31, puns on the double meaning of the word 'renowned' and 'fat.'

283. Juvenal closely follows Cicero, Tusc. Disputations i. 86 'Pompeio

cum graviter aegrotaret Neapoli melius est factum. Coronati Neapolitani fuerunt, nimirum etiam Puteolani, volgo ex oppidis publice gratulabantur. Utrum igitur, si tum esset extinctus, a bonis rebus an a malis discessisset? Certe a miseris.' This was in the year 50 B.C.

287. **Lentulus** and **Cethegus**, accomplices of Catiline, were strangled in prison. Dio, xxxvii. 40, says that 'Catiline's head was cut off and sent to Rome.' Mutilation was dreaded, lest the marks should be retained in a future state: just as the Hindoos feared being blown off from guns much more than being shot.

289–345. Some pray for personal beauty, but the dangers of this are numerous and obvious. Cf. Montaigne, 'The Story of Spurina.'

291. 'Even to whimsical fancies in her prayers.' Seneca, De Benef. v. 1 'Usque in delicias amamus,' i.e. 'the gods are gracious enough to hearken to our very caprices.'

292. **pulchra**, a reminiscence of Vergil, Aen. i. 502 'Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus;' itself a copy of Homer, Odyssey vi. *γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ*.

295. **suam**, i.e. 'faciem.'

297. **habere miseros** is 'to *keep* in a state of anxiety;' it differs from 'afficere dolore,' which simply means to 'vex' or 'grieve;' see Naeg. Latein. Stil. § 110. 1 quoted by Weidner. Pliny, Ep. iii. 3. 4, complains about a youth of handsome exterior 'cui in hoc lubrico aetatis non praeceptor modo sed custos etiam rectorque quaerendus est.'

306. **fiducia**, 'hardihood,' 'brazenfacedness.'

313. Ares was surprised by Hephaestos and caught in a net, Homer, Od. viii. 266 sqq.; Mars is a planet too. Juvenal's thought is thus, 'the youth, who himself is subject to the influence of a planet, will not be more fortunate than Mars, who has his own planet.' Another reading is 'quascunque maritis Iratis debet.'

325. **Hippolytus**, son of Theseus, was tempted by his stepmother Phaedra, daughter of Minos, and on rejecting her advances was accused by her to Theseus and slain: the myth has been often treated, as by Euripides, in the Hippolytus; Schiller in his Phädra; by Racine, etc. The **grave propositum** is expressed in Schiller's words (Phädra ii. 5)

> '*Hippolyt.* Was hör' ich, Götter! Wie? Vergissest du,
> Dass Theseus dein Gemahl, dass er mein Vater?' etc.

Bellerophon was accused on similar grounds by Stheneboea, wife of Proetus. Cf. Horace, Od. iii. 7.

326. The reading **hac** is now generally received for 'haec,' which would grammatically refer to Stheneboea, while it must refer to Phaedra. **hac** goes with 'repulsa, 'at this rebuff' their *amour propre* was hurt.

327. **exanduit**, 'glowed with wrath,' 'fell into a white heat from passion.'

328. **concussere**, 'roused themselves to wrath;' cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 338 'fecundum concute pectus.' The metaphor seems to be from waking a sleeper.

329. **pudor** is the 'shame' attendant on detection; 'consciousness.'

quidnam for the more usual 'utrum.'

330. Another instance of beauty bringing its owner to ruin. He refers to Messalina, wife of Claudius, the story of whose caprice fatal to Silius is told by Tacitus, Ann. xi. 26 sqq. Juvenal asks, 'Say what is the safest advice to give to one with whom Caesar's wife is in love?'

332. **rapitur.** As if by a storm.

334. **flammeolo**: i. e. 'flammeo:' the name of the veil which the bride had to put on for her wedding: hence the expression 'nubere,' 'to take the veil.'

genialis, sc. 'lectus.'

in hortis, sc. 'Luculli;' cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 37.

335. '1,300,000 sesterces as dower.' It was the bestowal of the dower which was the ancient custom. Lipsius, on Tac. Ann. ii. 86, shows that the 'dos' of the daughter of a senator amounted to this sum.

340. 'A trifling respite.'

346–352. Ask the gods then to send what they know to be best: ask for a sound mind in a sound body; a pure mind free from all desires; for virtue; in fact for what you can procure for yourself.

346. 'I do not wish to forbid prayer to the gods; but look to it that you leave the gods to judge what is best and let the object of your prayers be only that they will grant this.'

355. 'The holy sausages of your white little porker.' The language is satirical and the diminutives aid the effect.

358. **spatium vitae**, 'length of years' as 'da spatium vitae' above.

362. **pluma**, 'the feather bed,' as in Martial xii. 17 'dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro.'

365. **nullum.** 'You, Fortune! have no power, if only we have foresight: it is we who make you a goddess.' 'sit' for 'sit nobis' is Jahn's reading. P reads 'abest,' i.e. prudence is as good as all the powers of Heaven. Heinrich reads 'si adsit,' which gives the sense required.

SATIRE XI.

ON THE VICE OF GLUTTONY.

THIS Satire is directed against the vice of gluttony and the expenditure which it entails. It should be compared with Horace, Satires ii. 2. It naturally falls into two parts; the first (1–55) containing general remarks about gluttony: the second consisting of an invitation to a simple country meal, which shall form a contrast to the luxury displayed by the better class of the Romans of Juvenal's day.

Ribbeck holds ll. 1–55 to be the work of an imitator, and thinks that they are probably the work of the same hand that wrote the introduction to Satire iv.

This Satire appears to belong to the later period of Juvenal's life. He speaks of his wrinkled skin; and he is evidently living in the country,

for he tells his guest that he may bathe when he likes without regard to fashion, and describes himself as waited on by country boys. In the list of country towns eligible as residences which Juvenal gives in Satire iii. five out of seven are in the way to or near Aquinum. These are Gabii, Praeneste, Sora, Fabrateria, and Frusino. Of the other two Tibur is the place near which he had a farm, and only Volsinii is in quite another direction. The chances are that he was at this time in villeggiatura, in some neighbourhood like that of Praeneste, where he could easily get supplies from his Tiburtine farm and receive the visits of Roman friends.

ARGUMENT.

The whole talk of the town is of Rutilus, who, not having measured his gluttony by his means, is about to turn gladiator, though his age would fit him for the army, ll. 1–8. There are hosts of men who live only to eat and who live better than their creditors, though the chinks in their shattered fortunes already let in the light. From pawning their plate and breaking up their mother's silver bust they come down to the arena, ll. 9–19. It is disastrous when a man does not know who he is, what marriage he can aspire to, whose cause he can venture to plead, or how much he can dare to eat, ll. 19–38. For when your belly has swallowed up investments and plate and land and live stock, what remains but an old age more terrible than death? ll. 38–45. Tho ruin begins with borrowed money; it ends in levanting, which does not cost a blush, and only brings regret because the absconder has to miss the amusements of Rome, ll. 46–55.

You will find out, Persicus, when you come to dine with me to-day and are welcomed as Hercules and Aeneas were by Evander, whether all my praise of simple diet is hypocrisy, ll. 56–63. You will get no city *entrées*, but a sucking kid with mountain asparagus and eggs warm from the hay by the side of the hens that laid them, and grapes kept fresh for months, and apples and pears mellowed by keeping, ll. 64–76.

Such was once a splendid feast for our nobles when Curius supped off pot-herbs which a ditcher with memories of the eating-house would disdain, ll. 77–81. Then a chine of bacon was kept for feast-days to be supplemented perhaps from a sacrifice, and the ex-consul or dictator would knock off work early to go to it with his spade across his shoulder, ll. 82–89. Then, when the nation's foes and even the magistrate's colleagues trembled before him, it was no matter of serious concern to get a large tortoise-shell for a couch, but an ass's head in bronze was the head-piece of the bed. Food and furniture were well matched, ll. 90–99. Then the soldier, with no taste in art, broke up the goblets fashioned by great craftsmen to hammer on an ornament for his horse's trappings or his helmet: and the spoils glittered over the foe's face, ll. 100–107. These men whom you may be justified in envying supped off Tuscan pottery; but their earthenware Jupiter watched over them, and the

majesty of the holy places surrounded them, ll. 108–116. Then the tables were of native wood, blown down, but now the broad panels are borne up by carved ivory, and silver is of no account, ll. 117–127. Be warned that at my house you will find only knives with bone-handles, and the slave who carves will not have learned the art on wooden models and cannot even steal dexterously, ll. 129–144. A country boy, whom you will have to address in Latin, will serve you with drink. The boy with his hair cut short and combed straight will be taken from country life and sighing for his mother and her goats; not a page such as great men love. The wine he hands you will come from the same hills as himself, ll. 145–161. Expect the dancing girls such as decent women endure to look at, not such as stimulate lust in their lords, ll. 162–170. It takes a fortune to excuse these accompaniments, ll. 171–178. But you shall hear recitations from the Iliad or the Aeneid, ll. 179–182.

But now put business aside and prepare for a whole day's idleness, without thought of the money-market or conjugal or household troubles or ungrateful friends, ll. 183–192. To-day, the shout of games will go up, and I seem to hear that green has won; for if this shout were not borne on the wind, Rome would be wailing. Leave this to the young man and his lady-love, ll. 193–202. Be it ours to sun ourselves and to bathe, enjoying these single pleasures the more because we so seldom get them, ll. 203–208.

1. **Atticus** may refer to T. Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, who was very rich. Cornelius Nepos, Life of Atticus v. 14, tells us that he inherited two large fortunes. Others have thought of Ti. Claudius Atticus, father of the celebrated rhetorician Herodes Atticus, who discovered a treasure in his house. In any case 'Atticus' stands for the typical millionaire.

lautus, 'refined.'

2. **Rutilus**, a poor but extravagant character of the day.

3. **pauper**. 'A poor man playing Apicius gets laughed at, and a Rutilus is even more the gossip of the town;' for Apicius cf. Sat. iv. 23. He starved himself because he had only 10,000,000 sesterces.

4. **convictus**. A general word for 'a lounge.'

The **thermae** are baths including large gymnasia, after the model of the Greek Palaestrae, and 'thermopolia' or public tap-rooms where hot drinks were sold. Cf. viii. 168.

stationes are such places of public resort as the 'taberna' of the 'tonsor,' the Greek λέσχαι: cf. Plin. Ep. i. 13. 2; Mart. v. 20.

5. **iuvenalia**, this form of the word lays stress on strength and lustiness as incident to youth in contrast to its giddiness and immaturity, which are denoted by 'iuvenilis.'

6. **sufficiunt galeae**, cf. 'praestare Neronem Securum valet haec aetas.' 'He might have donned the casque and gone to the front.'

fertur, 'tis the common gossip.'

7. Some editors understand **tribuno** of the emperor who enjoyed, as one of his honorary functions, the 'tribunicia potestas.' It seems more natural to understand it of the tribune who, if a citizen like Rutilus went bankrupt, had the right ('cognitio extraordinaria') to hear the appeal of the creditors. Indeed it seems likely that he might decide upon the question whether such bankrupt should lose his freedom or no. In this case it seems the tribune, feeling that the special office of the 'tribunicia potestas' was to guard the functions of a Roman citizen, did not indeed let matters go so far, but permitted him graciously to sell himself to the 'lanista.'

8. **scripturus leges.** The technical term for a gladiator's binding himself to a **lanista** is 'sese auctorare;' 'leges scribere' is the technical term for signing a contract: see Friedländer ii. 238, quoted by Weidner. The gladiator had to take an oath binding himself to submit 'uri vinciri verberari ferroque necari,' if his master deemed it right. See Hor. Sat. ii. 7. 58.

10. The creditor goes, where he would most likely find the debtor, to the market, which was surrounded by a barrier.

12. **egregius** is a comparative form, as if formed from 'egrex.' The sense is 'quo quisque horum miserior est et citius casurus, eo melius cenat' (Weidner).

13. **perlucente.** The metaphor is from a building in such a ruined state that the light shines through its cracks.

14. **interea**, 'in the short respite.'

gustus, 'delicacies.'

15. **interius**, 'more closely.'

16. 'And so,' i. e. 'since their appetites are their gods.'

18. **oppositis**, 'pawned.' Cf. Catullus' well-known pun (26) on his 'villa opposita.' 'He breaks up his mother's bust and sells it as old silver.'

19. **condire**, 'to season his extravagant delf,' a satiric oxymoron.

20. **miscellanea**, 'the hotch-potch of the gladiator's school.'

21–43. 'All depends here, as in other matters, on a man's knowledge of himself.'

21. **refert**, 'it makes all the difference.'

'In the case of Rutilus, 'tis mere wantonness; in the case of Ventidus, it assumes a creditable name.'

25. **hic tamen idem.** The subjunctive shows that 'hic tamen ignoret' = 'si tamen idem ignoret.'

27. **γνῶθι σεαυτόν.** Such dicta were common in Juvenal's time; cf. vi. 187 'omnia graece Cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire latine.' Cf. Faust, who says to Wagner, 'Ja, was man so erkennen heisst; where, however, the doctrine, as laid down by Goethe, is different. This saying was ascribed to various sages and to the Delphic oracle.

28. **sive** here answers to *vel*, because *sive* = *vel si*. 'Sive' and 'sive' or 'seu' express the alternative between two similar conditions: *vel* and *vel* those between two contrasted conditions, as here.

30. **neque enim**, 'for not even Thersites, with all his brazen impudence.' The sentence from **neque enim . . . Achilles** is parenthetical; a new sentence follows in the indicative.

31. **transducebat**, 'made himself ridiculous.' Cf. viii. 17.

33. **te consule**, 'examine yourself, tell yourself what sort of a man you are.'

34. **buccae**, 'wind-bags,' 'spouters.' See iii. 35.

38. Another reading is **deficiente crumena**, which would be a remembrance of Horace, Ep. i. 4. 11.

41. Many adjectives signifying 'wealthy' or 'abounding in' take the genitive after the analogy of 'plenus.'

42. **novissimus**. They lost their position in the census; and this implied loss of their position as citizens. Cf. Martial viii. 5 'Dum donas, Macer, anulos puellis, Desisti, Macer, anulos habere.' His ring is the badge of equestrian or senatorial rank.

exit, 'passes away from him;' a law term, as where the owner of a sepulchre states 'peto non fundus de familia exeat.'

43. **Pollio**. Possibly Creperius Pollio mentioned in ix. 6.

44–55. The miserable state of the spendthrift.

44. ''Tis not an early death that the spendthrifts have to fear, but it is old age.'

The metaphor in **acerbum** is from the bitterness of unripe fruits.

45. **luxuriae** is the dative.

46. **hi plerumque gradus**, 'this is commonly the Rake's progress' (Hardy).

conducta, 'money borrowed at interest.'

47. **dominis**, 'the owners,' i. e. the lenders of the money.

49. 'Those who have perforce given leg-bail, go for change of air to some fashionable watering-place, and spend the little that they have left.' **vertere solum** is a technical term for running away to escape punishment or misfortune, as is explained by Cicero, Pro Caecina 34.

50. **cedere foro**, as we might say 'to disappear from 'Change,' is nowadays considered no worse than to migrate to a better quarter of the town.

54. 'No drop of blood remains to form a blush; there are but few nowadays who give a thought to shame; she is laughed at and has to fly.'

56–63. 'I now invite you to a simple Roman meal, Persicus.'

58. **pultes**. The simple porridge which was the food of the Romans in the early period of the Republic. Pliny, N. H. xviii. 8. 19 'Pulte non pane vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum.' Cf. Sat. xiv. 171.

59. **dictare** in the sense of 'to order' is post-classical.

60. 'You shall find in me a good host like Evander, and I will treat you as he treated Hercules, or Aeneas only a little less than he, and like himself sprung from Heaven.' Cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 26 sq.

63. Aeneas was said to have been drowned in the Numicius, Liv. i. 2. Hercules burnt himself to death on the pyre on Mount Oeta. Juvenal

speaks as if the two heroes had alike been purified before being admitted into heaven; the one by water, the other by fire. Weidner quotes Tibull. ii. 5. 43

'Illic sanctus eris, cum te, venerande, Numici
Unda deum caelo miserit Indigetem.'

64–76. The dishes of the simple meal.

64. **fercula.** Ironically applied to the simple dishes.

65. **Tiburtino.** It would seem that Juvenal had a farm in the 'Tiburtinus ager.' See the Introduction to this Satire. The whole description of this meal should be compared with Martial x. 48.

70. The 'vilica' had improvised a basket out of wisps of hay in which to bring the eggs fresh from the nest. Cf. Mart. iii. 47. The eggs are large, as laid by well-fed fowls.

72. i. e. 'half the year;' for we find, from verse 193, that the meal was in April. Lewis points out that at the period when Juvenal wrote the ablative was commonly used to express duration of time. The ablative of time is a natural extension of the ablative of place. Such expressions as 'hieme,' 'aestate,' etc., are natural after expressions like 'acie constiterunt.'

73. Pears from Signia in Latium are mentioned as healthy by Celsus i. 24. Syrian pears grew luxuriantly at Tarentum. For the variety of fruits on which the Romans prided themselves see Varro, R. R. i. 2. 6 'Nunc arboribus consita Italia est ut tota pomarium videatur.' Cf. also Lucretius v. 1376. For the whole question of the introduction of foreign fruits into Italy see Hehn, Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere.

74. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 70 'Picenis cedunt pomis Tiburtia succo.'

75. They have been stored all the winter so as to get rid of their 'autumn,' i. e. their fresh juices.

postquam, causal, is followed by the indicative, as in Plaut. Captivi 485 'Abeo ab illis postquam video sic me ludificarier.'

77. **iam.** '*Already* luxurious as compared with the fare of M'. Curius Dentatus.'

77–119. Simplicity of the good old Roman times.

80. 'A dirty slave fetched from the ergastulum would not touch them nowadays if he could get his tripe.'

For **fossor** cf. Pers. v. 122 'cum sis cetera fossor;' also Ovid, Trist. iv. 1. 5; Tib. ii. 6. 25; Colum. i. 8. 16 'Ergastulum mancipia vincta compedibus.' Cf. also Sat. viii. 180. For the punishment of slaves cf. Becker's Gallus p. 221.

82. **rara.** 'On a rack with wide bars,' so that it should not get musty. 'Rarus' means 'with spaces between.'

83. **moris erat.** Genitive of quality, or adjectival genitive. The oldest form of the phrase seems to occur in cases like Caes. Bell. Gall. iv. 5 (quoted by Hardy) 'est hoc Gallicae consuetudinis.'

84. **natalicium.** *Only* on birthdays, when a feast was made to the 'genius,' and *then* the only extravagance was bacon.

On the birthday, relations and friends were asked to 'dapes nata-

liciae;' cf. Ovid, Trist. iii. 13. 13. 'Natales celebrare' is to keep one's birthday; cf. Pliny, Ep. vi. 30. 1.

85. For the offerer ate what he did not burn.

88. 'He would not have departed from the common custom but for a special occasion.'

89. 'His spade on his shoulder.' **domare** was a common expression for bringing land under cultivation, like ἡμερόω in Greek.

90. But when men looked with awe upon their censors: nay, when one censor actually dreaded the authority of another, as M. Livius Salinator did that of C. Claudius Nero. See Livy xxix. 37 and Valer. Max. ii. 9. 6.

95. The 'fulcra' were stout props to beds adorned with representations of quaint monsters, such as griffins and sphinxes. Cf. Pliny H. N. xxxiv. 2; Propert. ii. 10. 25 'Nec mihi tunc fulcro sternatur lectus eburno.'

96. **nudo latere.** In prose we should expect 'sed parvus lectus nudo latere ostendebat fronte aerea vile caput.'

nudum latus and **frons aerea** are both parts of the **lectus**, but as special attention is to be paid to the 'frons aerea' the poet makes it the nominative, and connects 'nudo latere' and 'parvis lectis' with it as ablatives of quality; 'but on beds of plain unornamented sides and small, there was a brass headpiece, which displayed a cheap ass's head, crowned with vines, at which the wanton country boys were laughing.' The ass is crowned with vine-leaves to commemorate, it is said, the invention of pruning vines from watching its browsing. Cf. Hehn, p. 108 'Mit der Wein- und Oel-Kultur ging auch der Esel nach Norden,' the ass followed the vine and olive to the north, etc. Some understand the **pueri** to be the guests; but it seems better to take the word of the children playing round the bed in the 'atrium.' Cf. xiv. 168 'infantes ludebant quattuor, unus Vernula, tres domini.'

100. Juvenal is here tempted by his wish to give a distinct picture into a description of the barbarity, rather than the simplicity, of the Romans of whom he speaks. Polybius was present at the taking of Corinth, B.C. 146, and he tells us that he was told of those who had seen ἐρριμμένους πίνακας ἀπ' ἐδάφους, πεττεύοντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τούτων xl. 7.

102. **artificum pocula.** Genitive of the author; a variety of the genitive of possession.

105. 'By the promise of empire,' which foretold universal rule to Rome.

geminos Quirinos, i.e. 'Romulum et Remum;' just as 'Castores'='Castor and Pollux.' We sometimes hear the Romans spoken of as the descendants of Romulus, sometimes of Remus.

sub rupe, as in Verg. Aen. viii. 630 'in antro.'

107. **pendentis**, 'hovering in the air.' The criticism of Lessing in the Laocoon, chap. vii. ad init., on the shield of Aeneas should be referred to.

108. **Tusco catino.** The Tuscan pottery, especially that of Arretium, was famous. Cf. Pers. ii. 60.

farrata, i. e. 'pultes ex farre:' thus 'porrata' from 'porrum,' was a Low-Latin word for 'leek broth' (Ducange).

110. Ironical: 'everything then was of a nature that you must envy if you have ever so little a turn for envy.'

111. He refers to the story told in Livy v. 32. Cf. also Verg. Georg. i. 476.

116 **fictilis.** Cf. Propertius, v. 1. 5 'Fictilibus crevere deis haec aurea templa.' Cf. Seneca for the sentiment, Epp. 31. § 11 'Cogita illos (Deos) cum propitii essent fictiles fuisse.' Cf. also Apuleius, Apologia 434 'Eadem paupertas etiam populo Romano imperium a primordio fundavit; proque eo in hodiernum Diis immortalibus simpulo et Catino fictili sacrificat.'

violatus, 'outraged.' Cf. Sat. iii. 20 'nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum.'

117. **nostra ex arbore,** 'trees of home growth,' not the imported Grecian *κέδρος*. This name was applied to the several species of fragrant and durable coniferae; popular etymology changed its name to 'citrus,' as it changed *κυδώνια* into 'mala cotonea.' Hehn, p. 362, says that the species in question was the *Thuja articulata:* 'Das aus Africa seit alter Zeit eingeführte Holz des Lebensbaums aus dessen Masern in der späteren Epoche des Luxus und Reichthums kostbare Tischplatten gefertigt wurden.'

120–129. The luxury of the present day brings no satisfaction.

122. **orbes.** The word 'orbis' is the regular term for round tables of the costly citrus resting on one leg—being sections of the whole trunk, 'monopodia;' also called 'mensae citrae;' cf. Cicero, Verr. iv. 17, Martial ix. 60. 10.

123. **sublimis,** 'rampant.'

124. **porta Syenes.** Syene was a town on the Nile on the borders of Ethiopia. It is called 'porta' because the Nile narrows in that part and forms as it were the gate to Ethiopia. Lewis quotes Tacitus' remark about Syene as 'claustra olim Romani imperii.'

126. **Nabataeo.** Napata was the capital of the kingdom of Ethiopia. Napata was built at the foot of a steep sandstone mountain on the right bank of the river. See Sharpe's Egypt chap. iii. 19. The story of the shedding tusks is a fable.

128. 'They would think as little of a mere silver foot to their table as they would think of an iron ring;' the legs of their tables must be inlaid.

129–161. Juvenal now describes his own table-ware and contrasts it with the expensive ware of the day.

131. 'So true is it that I have not even an ounce.'

132. **tessellae,** 'dice;' **calculus,** 'a draught' for playing the 'ludus latrunculorum.' Cf. Becker's Gallus p. 502 sqq.

134. **his,** i. e. because the hafts are made of bone they do not therefore taint the food.

136. 'I have no carver, the champion of the carving school, a disciple of the great professor Trypherus (as we might say M. Le Gourmand) who teaches carving on wooden models till the Subura rings with the clatter.' The 'pergulae magistrales' were open booths attached to certain houses in Rome where different arts were taught. Cf. Suet. Gr. 18.

138. **pygargus** = 'antilopa pygargus.'

139. **Scythicae volucres**, 'phasianae.' Athenaeus 14 quotes a passage from the writings of the Egyptian king Ptolemy Euergetes II, 'these birds, called *τέταροι* (the same word as 'tetrao'), were not merely acclimatised from Media, but artificially bred for the table.' An edict of Diocletian's prescribes the market price alike of the wild and of the tame birds.

142. **Afrae avis**, 'the guinea fowl' (*Numida meleagris*), very common in North-West Africa, as is attested by Speke and Niebuhr. Varro calls them 'gallinae Africanae' iii. 9. 18. With the decay of the Roman empire these birds went out of fashion and were heard of no more till the Portuguese introduced them afresh from Africa. Cf. Hehn p. 294.

144. **imbutus**. 'He is only just initiated into petty larcenies.'

146. 'A rough boy well clad in home-spun; not dressed up like an Asiatic Ganymede.'

147. **non a mangone petitus**. Ribbeck holds these and the following words to be spurious—down to 'magno.'

mango. Cf. Martial i. 59 'Millia pro puero centum me mango poposcit.' The word comes from the root 'mag' found in *μαγγανεύω*, 'to deceive or cajole by magical arts,' and so to adulterate or put off bad wares. Cf. English 'monger;' German 'menger' in Fisch-menger. Slave-dealers were proverbially tricky. Cf. Cic. de Offic. iii. 27. 51.

148. 'He is no Greek, so you must talk to him in good Latin.'

149. The slaves are in no classes or familiae, but all wear the same simple costume; their hair is close cut and uncurled; they are no dandies like those described by Cicero, Catiline ii. 22 'pexo capillo nitidi.' Cf. also Mart. iii. 58.

152. **suspirat**, used transitively, is post-classical.

154. Macleane rightly remarks that there is a play upon **ingenuus** here; he says he has a frank modesty such as the boys of an 'ingenuus' should have.

155. **quos ardens purpura**, i. e. the 'praetextati,' or sons of free citizens.

159. **diffusa**, 'bottled off' from the 'dolium' into the 'amphora.' The wines are the wines of the country, not expensive wines from South Italy or Greece.

162–182. Now contrast the simplicity of a meal like this with the prodigality of the 'symposia' in town.

162. **Gaditana**. Some editors take this as equivalent to 'Gaditana carmina,' and as the nom. to 'incipiant.' Others (as Weidner) take

'Gaditana' to be adverbial, as in phrases like 'Vicit Olympia.' The former seems the preferable view.

170. **testarum**, 'castanets.' Vergil's 'copa Syrisca' produces the same effect 'ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos.'

174. **turpis** is a predicate.

175. i.e. the rich man who has a pavement of Lacedaemonian marble on which he spits out his wine. **pytissare**—πυτίζειν, to try wine by taking a mouthful and then spitting it out. Only gourmets could afford the wine and the pavement. For the 'pavimentum sectile' here described see Becker's Gallus p. 271.

176. **hilares**, 'are called gay and sprightly.'

178. **cantabitur**, instead of the 'cantus' of the singing girls.

181. A genuine piece of Roman criticism. Vergil entered the lists with Homer and nearly beat him on his own ground, by making the fame of the Trojugenae rival that of the Greeks.

182. 'It needs no airs and graces to make these verses welcome.'

183–208. But now put away all care and devote yourself heart and soul to the festival before you.

191. **illis**, the 'ab' is omitted, as the slave is looked on merely as a chattel or thing.

193. The **Megalesian** games in honour of the Magna Mater, or Mater Idaea, Cybele, were held in April and lasted several days in succession; cf. Liv. xix. 14. She was brought to Rome B. C. 204. They consisted of 'ludi scenici' and 'Circenses,' and concluded with chariot racing. The signal for starting was given by the praetor, who under the empire presided. He calls the flag ironically **mappa**.

194. **triumpho**, a short expression for 'triumphanti.'

195. **praeda caballorum.** Instead of his displaying captured horses, the horses have a hold on him; i. e. he has ruined himself by the expense of providing for them.

196. Ribbeck assumes that a verse containing the 'dictum' has here fallen out; it seems more likely that 197 *is* the dictum: 'if the overgrown plebs—who are of course everything—will allow me to say so, all Rome is in the circus.' It is as much as if we were to say—'If the few millions whom I pass over will allow me to say so, all London was present at the festival.'

198. 'From which I gather that the green rag has won the day.' The green 'faction;' four chariots ran, each being distinguished by its own colour. For the passion displayed at these contests Gibbon should be consulted, chap. xl. The 'green' was called 'prasinus.'

199. **si deficeret**, sc. 'viridis' or 'prasinus.'

202. **sponsio** and **adsedisse**, being placed co-ordinately, show how intimately the infinitive is connected with a substantive.

203. The Italians have a proverb, 'when the sun does not come in the doctor does.' **contracta cuticula**, as already shrunk with years.

204. 'Here you may go to the bath as early as 11 o'clock, instead of at 2 p.m.' Cf. Martial xi. 52. 3.

The spectators at the games were bound to appear in the 'toga.' Cf. Lampridius xvi, who, speaking of Commodus, says, 'Contra consuetudinem paenulatos iussit spectatores, non togatos, ad munus convenire.'

208. ''Tis sparing use which makes pleasure sweet.' Cf. Goethe, Wilhelm Meister i. 4 'Er behauptete, nur ein seltenes Vergnügen könne bei den Menschen einen Werth haben.'

SATIRE XII.

TO CORVINUS, ON CATULLUS' ESCAPE FROM SHIPWRECK.

THE only passage in this Satire from which its date can be conjectured is the allusion, in ll. 75–82, to the security of the port of Ostia, which probably refers to the improvement of that harbour by Trajan. The precise date of the enlargement of Ostia is unknown, but Pliny describes Trajan as 'parens aedificandi' in the Panegyric 51, which refers to the early part of the reign. The parenthesis about the elephant, ll. 101–110, is in Juvenal's worst style. The last eight lines seem dragged in forcibly, and have no merit of their own to plead as an excuse. On the other hand, the passages describing how Corvinus will be welcomed, ll. 1–9 and 83–92, but especially the latter, are very charming.

The 'viola,' l. 90, is generally translated as 'violet,' or 'wall-flower.' Mr. Lewis adds the pansy and the harebell, Mr. Mayor the stock. It seems to have been applied to a great many flowers, into the colouring of which 'viola' enters, and not to have been confined to spring flowers. The 'iris' would best meet the requirement of many colours. See, however, Hehn, p. 210.

Ben Jonson, in his 'Volpone, or the Fox,' has many reminiscences of Juvenal. The comedy is an exceedingly well constructed play upon the artifices of 'captatores,' and the malicious glee of the old millionaire who gulls and baffles them. The Argument is appended:—

'Volpone, childless, rich, feigns sick, despairs,
Offers his state to hopes of several heirs;
Lies languishing; his parasite receives
Presents of all, assures, deludes; then weaves
Other cross plots, which ope themselves, are told.
New tricks for safety are sought; they thrive: when bold,
Each tempts the other again, and all are sold.'

ARGUMENT.

Juvenal's friend Catullus having been saved from imminent danger when menaced by a shipwreck, the poet writes to inform Corvinus that he intends to celebrate a sacrifice in honour of his friend's return. Not that he has anything to gain by doing so, he adds; his friend has three

children, and there is consequently no good in courting him save for his own friendship.

I am celebrating this day, Corvinus, with greater honour to Ceres, Minerva, and Jupiter than if it were my birthday, with the sacrifice of two white lambs and a young steer, for Catullus has escaped with life beyond expectation; ll. 1–16. The storm was such as poets love to describe; the ship struck by lightning, as well as in danger of foundering under a black sky. Hear and pity, though such incidents are told everywhere in certain tablets in the temples of Isis; ll. 17–29. The storm was so violent that the master of the ship began to throw his cargo overboard, and Catullus sacrificed his purple robes and silver plate, goblets and dishes; ll. 30–47. Conceive a man having the courage to prefer his life to his property! ll. 48–51. Last of all the mast had to be cut away. Go to sea now, if you will, when hatchets may be as necessary as provisions; ll. 52–61. Then, when the storm ceased, they had to rig up a jury-mast and use clothes for sails, as only the foresail was left; ll. 62–69. As the sun came out they discovered the heights Alba, and presently passed between the moles of Ostia into the safe anchorage, where sailors who have escaped the storm can talk over the perils of the sea; ll. 69–82.

Go now, boys, and build up the altars of green turf. I will go home, where the thin effigies of my ancestors are garlanded, to burn frankincense and scatter all the colours of the iris. The very door is wreathed with boughs and gay with lamps; ll. 83–92.

Nor are these airs of friendship mercenary. Catullus has three children. How many persons would waste a sick hen on so barren a friend! ll. 93–97. Even a father does not merit a quail. But let childless Gallitta or Pacius have a touch of fever, and the temples are covered with votive tablets, and men will be found to promise a hecatomb of oxen in default of elephants, ll. 97–110; though were the elephant found in Italy he would be sacrificed; ll. 111–114. Why, such an one would offer up a slave or even a daughter, and not unwisely, for if the sick man recover, he will alter his will to the benefit of so devoted a friend. An estate is more than an equivalent for an Iphigenia; ll. 115–127.

Long may Pacuvius live; estated and rich; unloving and unloved; ll. 128–130.

1. **natali die.** The 'dies natalis' was celebrated by a sacrifice offered to the 'genius.' Horace speaks of the birthday of Maecenas as 'sanctior . . . paene natali proprio' Od. iv. 11. 18. Cf. Sat. xi. 84.

2. **cespes.** The altar was of turf, and the sacrifice was celebrated in the open air. Cf. Horace, Od. i. 19. 13.

3. **niveam agnam.** For white animals were offered to the gods above, and black to the deities below. Cf. Liv. xxvii. 37.

reginae, the queen of the gods, Juno, worshipped in the Capitoline emple under the title of 'Iuno Regina.' Her common victims were cows: geese were kept in her temple in memory of the alarm they gave on the occasion of the attack by the Gauls.

4. **vellus**, ironical; he seems to imply that the gods cannot really care about the spirit of the sacrifice; they valued the victim for its wool only. In the same way, **pugnanti Gorgone Maura** seems to be a satirical way of speaking of Minerva, who carried on the aegis she bore the head of the Gorgon Medusa, which turned its beholders into stone. Cf. Ov. Met. iv. 'Gorgo' is used absolutely for the shield, on which the Gorgon's head is depicted. Pallas is represented as shooting lightning in Verg. Aen. i. 42. For Domitian's special worship of Minerva see Suet. Dom. 15.

5. The animal goes quietly, for the rope is trailing at length, and he needs not to be dragged, which would have been a bad omen. Pliny, H.N. viii. 45. Cf. Macrob. Sat. iii. 5 'observatum est a sacrificantibus, ut si hostia quae ad aras duceretur fuisset vehementius reluctata, ostendissetque se invitam altaribus amoveri, amoveretur, quia invito deo offerri eam putabant.' Cf. also Hor. Od. iii. 13. 3 sqq.

petulans, from 'peto,' is the regular word for 'butting;' *κορύττειν* Theoc. iii. 5. Cf. Verg. Ec. iii. 87 'Iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat arenam.' Cf. 'hostia petulans' Petron. in Satir. 92.

6. **Tarpeio**. 'Mons Tarpeius' was the ancient name of the Capitol.

7. **quippe** has developed from a mere interrogative into a causal conjunction; but its meaning is not so decided as that of 'enim.'

8. **spargendus mero**, 'ready for his baptism of wine,' which was poured on the head of the victim before it was killed. Cf. Verg. Aen. iv. 61, Ov. Met. vii. 593. He seems to have in mind Horace, Od. ix. 2. 53 sqq.

9. 'Who gores the oaks with his budding horn.' Cf. Verg. Georg. iii. 252 'irasci in cornua discit.'

10. **similis** = par. The word 'affectus' in the plural is stronger than the same word in the singular, which is itself a strong word for 'love.' It denotes 'an imperious bent of the soul, sometimes as strong as "amor," but not generally as lasting and acknowledged.' See Abel, 'The conception of Love in some ancient and modern Languages' p. 62.

11. **Hispulla**, a stout lady. Cf. vi. 74. He cannot refrain from a jest at the popular religion, though he has no desire to see that religion abolished; in fact, he is always ready to carry out the formalities prescribed by the old religion under which Rome grew to greatness, but he cannot bear the new innovations from the East.

13. The **Clitumnus** in Umbria was supposed to have the power of turning the cattle which browsed on its banks white, and white cattle were most prized for sacrifice. Cf. Verg. Georg. ii. 146 and Propertius, ii. 19. 25 'Qua formosa suo Clitumnus flumina luco Integit et niveos abluit unda boves,' and Pliny, H. N. ii. 103, who describes the water in the ager Faliscus as having the same property. Cf. also Claudian, VI.

Cons. Hon. 506 'Quin et Clitumni sacras victoribus undas Candida quae Latiis praebent armenta triumphis Visere cura fuit.'

sanguis. Surely 'sanguis' does not here mean 'the high-bred one,' as is commonly assumed. 'Taurus' seems to be the nominative to 'traheretur' and 'iret;' and 'sanguis' and 'cervix' simply repeat the idea of 'taurus,' specialising, however, the features in the bull which would naturally present themselves to the 'popa' or priest's servant. Thus we might translate, 'there should be a bull to drag along whose very fatness made him slow—a bull reared in no neighbouring fields, but he should go, his blood giving proof of Clitumnus' rich pastures—he should go blood and all, and his neck challenging the blow of a tall sacrificer.' The 'popa' must be tall to bring down such a victim. 'Sanguis' is to be joined with 'ostendens;' the word might be paralleled by the dealer's expression 'a bit of blood.'

14. The use of 'ab' and the ablative is uncommon after the gerundive, which requires the dative of the agent. The use of prepositions was, however, commoner in the language of the people than in classical Latin; and this use became common in late Latin.

17. 'Wondering even yet that he was saved,' like Don Juan, who, after his shipwreck,

> 'gazed as one who is awoke
> By a distant organ, doubting if he be
> Not yet a dreamer.'

19. **nube una.** Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 88. Juvenal seems to have the passage in mind.

20. **et mox,** 'and then when recovered from the shock.'

22. **velis ardentibus,** a condensed expression, characteristic of Juvenal, for 'a shipwreck in a ship with burning sails.' Any shipwreck, they said, was dreadful, but to be shipwrecked by the sails catching fire was shipwreck of the worst kind.

23. A sneer at the poets. 'Everything occurs as regularly and as dreadfully as the poets could describe.' Cf. Luk. *Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν* (chap. 45;) *Δεήσει γὰρ τότε ποιητικοῦ τινος ἀνέμου ἐπουριάσοντος τὰ ἀκάτια καὶ συνδιοίσοντος ὑψηλὴν καὶ ἐπ' ἄκραν τῶν κυμάτων τὴν ναῦν.*

24. i.e. but there is one phase of danger which he incurred, not generally mentioned by the poets, i.e. he lost his goods and chattels to lighten the ship.

25. **quamquam** arises from the addition of the indefinite 'quam' to the interrogative use of the word 'in what way?' so that the word strictly speaking means 'in what way soever.' It thus answers to the so-called general relatives, and, like these, is commonly used with the indicative; though, like these, it was very commonly used with the subjunctive in later writers, and always in Juvenal; in fact, the conjunctive after 'quamquam' is a characteristic of the Latinity of the Silver age;—it is common in Pliny and Tacitus.

28. In the Imperial epoch painters put themselves under the protection of Isis, the queen and sister of Osiris, whose worship was very

fashionable at Rome, and, like other Oriental importations, is sneered at by Juvenal. Men who had escaped from shipwreck hung up in the temples of their favourite goddess pictures representing the danger which they had escaped. Cf. Hor. Od. i. 5. 13 and Sat. ii. 1. 33. The painters got their employment thanks to Isis.

31. **alternum**, the waves threatened to break now one side, now the other.

32. **arbori**. Lachmann's emendation for 'arboris,' which is the reading of Cod. Pith. The obvious difficulty is the hiatus, which is unexampled in Juvenal. Another reading puts a comma at 'undis,' 'arboris interitu nullam prudentia cani Rectoris cum ferret opem.' So Weidner. Heinrich reads 'marmoris incerti;' cf. Ribbeck 60 sq.

33. **decidere**, 'to compromise,' a law term, cf. Mart. ix. 4. **iactu**, sc. 'iactura,' 'by throwing cargo overboard.'

39. In i. 66 he speaks of Maecenas as 'the model lounger.'

41. **quarum** goes closely with **pecus**; the garments are said to own the animals that produced the wool. 'Other garments whose producers the virtue of the generous herbage dyed bright, though the rare and mysterious efficacy of the water and the climate of the Baetis aided as well.' The Baetis was supposed to have the virtue of giving a tinge of purple to the wool which was grown on its banks; cf. Mart. viii. 28, etc.

43. The **lances** were the **argentum**; they were silvered over.

44. **Parthenio**. Unknown. Notice the dative of the agent.

45. **Pholus** was a centaur who was represented in different passages as wielding a crater against the Lapithae. Cf. Val. Flacc. i. 337, Verg. Georg. ii. 455, Stat. Theb. ii. 563. A passage of Stesichorus, preserved in Athenaeus xi. 14, represents Pholus as draining a huge goblet and handing it to Hercules.

conjuge Fusci, possibly Saufeia, mentioned Sat. ix. 117.

46. **bascaudas**, a Celtic word (Welsh 'basged'), and noted as such by Martial xiv. 99 'Barbara de pictis veni bascauda Britannis.' It is here mentioned among articles of plate, and may have reference to some articles of plate or porcelain surrounded by basket work like the modern Italian bottles.

47. **callidus**. Philip who, according to Horace, Od. iii. 16. 13, 'auro diffidit urbium Portas vir Macedo.' The story was that he bribed Euthycrates and Lasthenes, in B. C. 348, to let him in. Their names must have been well known, as Demosthenes de Corona was such a common-place in the schools of the Rhetoricians. **quo** probably stands for 'ex quo;' though Weidner assumes the meaning to be that he had been able to defray the expense of his revels by the value of his silver plate.

50–51. These lines are regarded as spurious by Bentley and Markland and relegated to the margin by Weidner.

52. **sed nec damna levant**. 'But not even do these jettisons give relief to the ship:' nor was it likely they would, Juvenal means.

54. **recidit**=**rececidit** as 'rettulit' for 'retetulit.' 'It came to this, that he had to lower the mast by the axe, and so he gives his cramped

self room. Sure 'tis the farthest that danger can go when the very succour we bring will make one's ocean prison narrower.'

57. **I nunc,** 'go to now;' cf. Sat. x. 302.

59. Possibly Juvenal has in his mind a passage of Anacharsis, quoted by Diog. Laert. viii. 5 *μαθὼν τέτταρας δακτύλους εἶναι τὸ πάχος τῆς νεώς, τοσοῦτον ἔφη τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς πλέοντας ἀπέχειν.* Cf. Dio Chrys. Orat. lxiv, who calls Fortune's ship *τριδάκτυλον ξύλον πεύκινον.*

61. **aspice,** 'look out for.' 'Besides the ordinary stock of provisions, henceforth you should remember to take axes to be wielded during a storm.'

62. Notice the rhetorical amplification of the circumstances of the calm. Such amplification is highly characteristic of Juvenal; cf. Sat. vii. 53, 56. 'After all the skill of man availed not: the welcome change was brought about by a combination of chance and of the will of the Gods.'

63. After the traveller's weather has become fortunate and his star has carried it over the squall and the main.

66. **lanificae** staminis albi='carpentes lanam staminis albi,' and thus the phrase need not be explained as a Grecism.

68. The prow with its own sail,—i. e. the 'dolon.' This ship would seem to have had but one mast with a small foresail capable of being set on the prow; 'prora' is used in the sense of 'a ship' as nominative to 'cucurrit,' and special stress is laid on it as 'the prow' in line 69.

71. **sedes.** 'Mons Albanus,' which Iulus preferred to the home of his step-mother Lavinium. **atque** connects 'gratus' and 'sublimis,' and 'sedes novercali Lavinio praelata' is a parenthetical qualification.

72. **sublimis** gives the reason of his choice. The reading of P is 'miserabile.' I have, however, kept the common reading as attested by Verg. Aen. viii. 81, of which this line seems to be a reminiscence.

74. **numquam visis,** a *double entente*, 'which they had never seen, and which no one else has ever seen.'

75. The mouth of the Tiber got gradually choked up with sand in the course of time, so that the harbour of Ostia became useless. Claudius had a new channel excavated a little to the north of the disused harbour of Ostia, and, with the aid of two jetties running out into the sea, and each sloping inwards (porrecta brachia rursum) made an artificial harbour. Cf. Suet. Claud. xx, Dio. lx. 11. The Pharos, or lighthouse, was so called from the island of Pharos opposite Alexandria, from which place the French have still their word for lighthouse, 'phare.' It stood on an artificial jetty or island between the moles.

78. The point is, that there are many good natural harbours, but none of them is so wonderful as the artificial one which runs actually out to sea.

80. He makes for the inner basin made by Trajan, 'where even a skiff of Baiae would be safe.'

81. Shipwrecked people vowed to dedicate their hair to some deity 'naufragorum ultimum votum' Petron. 103 (quoted by Lewis). But it appears from Lukian, De Merc. Cond. 1, that they also sought by the

process to attract notice and pity, and Berenice's lock is vowed to the gods as a chief sacrifice in Catull. lxvi. 64.

82. **garrula**, a transferred epithet, like 'irato' in the line 'irato feriat mea lumina sistro' xiii. 229. Cf. also xiii. 32.

83–92. 'Prepare then, my slaves, to make the sacrifice right welcome.'

83. **εὐφημεῖτε**. 'Preserve a religious silence: let heart and tongue be silent.' Cf. Ov. Fast. ii. 71.

84. **farra**, i. e. the 'mola salsa,' with which the sacrificial knives were sprinkled.

85. **molles**, of turf.

86. **sacro quod praestat**, i. e. the chief offering made to the Capitoline Jove.

88. The **Lares** were small statuettes of marble or of wood, with a coating of wax. Cf. Pliny xxxiii. 40 and Hor. Ep. ii. 66, who calls them 'renidentes.'

fragili, because the wax would tend to scale off. Weidner reads 'facili.'

89. **nostrum Iovem**. 'Our own special Jove:' the special god of the house or of the district. The Lares and Penates received no blood offerings.

92. 'And keeps festal holiday with its display of morning lamps.' Even before daybreak the lamps were kindled. Cf. Tert. Apol. 35 quoted by Weidner, 'Cur die laeto non laureis postes obumbramus? Non lucernis diem infringimus?'

93–130. 'My sympathy is quite disinterested, for Catullus can never leave me a legacy; he has three children.'

97. **coturnix**. Pliny, N. H. x. 23, says that quails were not looked on as fit for human food, because they fed on poison and were subject to epilepsy.

98. **pro patre**, much less for a stranger.

sentire calorem, 'to have a touch of fever.' Cf. Tibull. iv. 11. 2 'Dum mea nunc vexat corpora fessa calor.'

100. **legitime fixis**, 'fastened up in the prescribed way;' according to the Roman religion, where the ritual was everything.

tabellis, the tablets on which their vows were inscribed. Cf. Suet. Aug. 97.

101. **hecatomben**, 'a hecatomb;' not of ordinary beasts, but, if it were possible, of elephants.

102. 'Not indeed elephants, but only because they are not found in this continent, and so are all the rarer; nay, they are only now found in Caesar's preserves: the spot where Turnus fought it out with Aeneas.' It would seem that the emperor kept a herd of them for the shows.

As to the construction, it would appear as if Juvenal had intended to write 'quatenus hic non sunt venales elephanti, neque indigenae:' but he has changed the construction in the concluding clause into a direct statement. For 'neque—nec' following the negative 'nullus' cf. Verg. 'nulla neque amnem Libavit quadrupes nec graminis attigit herbam;'

and for 'nec' followed by 'aut,' cf. Verg. Aen. xii. 135 'Tum neque nomen erat nec honos aut gloria monti.'

107. **privato.** Cf. vi. 114. 'Privatus' meant, originally, 'a man in no public office;' under the Emperors it came to be used of any one not a member of the imperial household; so that the idea is 'the elephants decline to serve anything less than an emperor, and indeed their ancestors served a Hannibal and our own Scipio: but *then* they were the chief means of attack in Roman wars: *now* they are the chief object in Roman shows!'

108. **regi Molosso.** Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, in which the Molossi formed a tribe.

111. **Novius** and **Hister** are the two 'captatores' mentioned in line 114.

115. **alter.** Pacuvius. He would sacrifice not merely an elephant, but the pick of his slaves: nay, he would give his own daughter to get a legacy, like another Agamemnon, even though he did not expect her to be miraculously rescued, as was Iphigenia in the legend.

120. 'I commend my citizen's wisdom, and deem his inheritance a greater thing than a thousand ships: for if our sick patient shall once give the slip to the goddess of funerals, he will destroy his will—a prisoner in the toils,—in consideration of a sacrifice truly singular: and maybe will make over everything to Pacuvius with a stroke of the pen.

122. **mille rates,** *στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύταν* Aesch. Ag. 45.

123. '**Ex nassa exire**' was a proverbial expression. The **nassa** was an osier basket shaped like a modern crab-pot.

126. 'And so you see how very well worth his while it were to kill the lady of Mycenae. How well, in his opinion, it would pay to sacrifice one's daughter!'

128. **vivere Nestora.** Many of these half cognate accusatives are thus used adverbially: thus 'vincere Olympia,' 'Cyclopa moveri,' etc.

130. He may have had in his head Horace, Sat. i. 1. 86 'Miraris cum tu argento post omnia ponas, Si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?' Cf. Schwartz, De Iuvenale Horatii imitatore.

SATIRE XIII.

TO CALVINUS ON REVENGE.

THE thirteenth Satire is generally ascribed to A. D. 120 or 127—preferably the former—on the strength of the allusion (l. 17) to the Consul Fonteius as marking a date sixty years back. C. Fonteius Capito was consul A. D. 59; Lucius Fonteius Capito, A. D. 67. There was another Caius Fonteius Capito who was consul A. D. 12: but this would throw back the Satire to the time of Vespasian. The mention in line 157 of '**custos Gallicus urbis**' seems indeed to belong to the time of Domitian,

when Gallicus was prefect of the city, but it may be reasonably explained as an allusion to a line of Statius celebrating Gallicus as the man

'Quem penes intrepidae mitis custodia Romae.'

Gallicus had then taken his place in poetry as a representative 'custos urbis.'

Ribbeck conjures up rather a fanciful difficulty about the remark that Socrates would not have given part of his hemlock to his accusers, and supposes it to be compounded of the statement in Phaedo (i. 66) that the hemlock brought him was not enough to allow of a libation to the Gods, and the story that Theramenes pledged his accuser Kritias in his last draught. It is difficult to find any foundation for Juvenal's statement in these stories, and the health drunk by Theramenes was a scoffing imprecation which, as Cicero says, was fulfilled by the death of Kritias long afterwards. Juvenal seems really to have had a passage of the Krito (l. 10) in his mind. 'Is it right,' says Socrates, 'for a man who suffers wrong to do wrong in return, as most people affirm?' K. 'By no means.' S. 'Then the doing harm to men is in no respect different from wronging them?' K. 'It is so.' S. 'Whatever, then, a man may suffer at the hands of others, you must neither wrong them in return nor harm them.'

ARGUMENT.

As no guilty man absolves himself, much less is he acquitted by public opinion. Happily the loss of a small sum will not ruin you, and the disaster is no unusual one, ll. 1–10. You must not let your grief be unmanly or more than the wound warrants. Sixty years old, do you profess to be astonished that a friend does not give you back a trust sum? ll. 11–18. Truly the sagacity that guards against losses is profitable, but they too are blessed who have learned not to toss the yoke when they are galled, ll. 19–22. What day is not marked by a villainy! The age of iron is upon us, and are we to deafen heaven with shouts such as hirelings raise when their patron pleads? ll. 23–33. Old man with a child's mind, do you know how tempting strange money is, and how foolish you seem when you expect anyone to keep from lying? ll. 33–37. That was all very well in the youth of the gods, when Hades did not even exist as an institution, ll. 38–52. Honesty and reverence for old age went together hand in hand in those days, ll. 53–59. Now if a man is commonly honest, I think it a memorable act to be ranked with portents and miracles, ll. 60–70.

Others have lost more than you, ll. 71–74. It is so easy to defraud when it costs nothing but false oaths sworn by all that is most sacred, ll. 75–85. Some men forswear themselves fearlessly, because they are atheists, ll. 86-89. Others, because they think it worth while to be rich at the price of such penalties as Heaven inflicts. Would not the runner give up his fleetness for wealth and the gout? ll. 90–99. Besides, the

mills of God grind slowly, and Heaven is merciful and lets some offenders slip through, ll. 100–105. Reassured by these arguments the cheat is the first to challenge you to an oath, while you are thunderstruck that Jupiter does not intervene, and doubt if it be worth while to sacrifice to him, ll. 106–119.

Your case is so simple that, though I am no philosopher, I can attempt to cure it, ll. 120–125. I admit that money gone is more sincerely grieved for than dead friends, and I say nothing against your sorrow if your case is exceptional, ll. 126–134. But if every Exchange is ringing to complaints like yours and thronged with debtors who deny their signatures and seals, why are you to think that you should be exempt from the common lot? ll. 135–142. Look at the burglar and the man who plunders the temples, at the poisoner and the parricide, ll. 143–156. Even this catalogue exhausts but a portion of the sum of human misery. Look at the disorders of any single family, and then say if your misfortune is more exceptional than a goître in the Alps or small stature among the pigmies, ll. 157–172.

Is crime then to remain unpunished? Your defrauder's death would not bring back your money, ll. 173–177. But revenge is sweet. So say the vulgar and women, not the moralist, even when he is drinking hemlock, ll. 180–192. And why do you think a man has escaped who carries the Furies in his breast? ll. 192–198. Remember the man who was cut off with all his race, merely because he wished to be dishonest, though he stopped short of crime through fear, ll. 199–207. So much for the penalties on guilty thoughts; but if no crime has been committed, it is not followed by perpetual anxiety, and restless nights in which the guilty wretch sees the desecrated altars and your menacing presence, forcing him to make confession, ll. 208–222. These are the men who fear every storm as if it were big with vengeance, every fever as if its pangs were the darts of heaven, ll. 222–232; by what sacrifice can they hope to expiate their offence? ll. 233–235; with no steady principle of life they pass from the vicious impulse to repentance and again to sin, the more readily because they have lost shame, ll. 236–242. Sooner or later your scoundrel will find his way into prison or exile, and you will be assured that there is a divine government of the world, ll. 243–249.

This Satire is, as will be seen from the above analysis, on the power of conscience and its revenge. Juvenal unites his teachings on revenge with the advice tendered to his friend Calvinus.

It has been imitated by Oldham in a powerful composition beginning

> 'There is not one bad act which men commit
> But carries this ill sting along with it,' etc.

The philosophy is expressed in 'Othello'—

> 'To mourn a mischief which is past and gone
> Is the next way to draw new mischief on.'

SATIRE XIII.

1–22. 'Evil deeds are punished by conscience, Calvinus, even though a wicked judge may fail to punish them. This may be one consolation to you. Another is that what has happened to you has happened to many, and you can afford it. Do not fret; it is unmanly. The teachings of philosophy are good; but even common sense without philosophy might teach you to bear such a loss as this.'

1. **exemplum,** 'precedent.' 'Exemplum' (from 'eximere') signifies strictly 'what stands out exceptionally in a series of events,' and thus 'exemplum malum' will be 'a precedent' or outstanding example of harm. In prose we should have expected 'in exemplum malum,' 'so as to be a bad example.'

2. **displicet** in the Silver age signifies more than merely 'displeases;' 'gives pain to.' Cf. Sen. Epp. 42 'nec ulla maior poena nequitiae est quam quod sibi ac suis displicet' (quoted by Lewis).

3. 'However much unrighteous influence may have carried the day against justice in the cheating urn of the presiding magistrate.' The praetor presided in criminal cases, and may have tampered with one of the urns in which the votes of the 'iudices' were deposited.

5. **quid sentire.** 'You must surely believe that all men are agreed in condemning such a scandal as robbing you of your deposit.'

7. The technical sense of 'iactura' as 'jettison' thrown out to lighten a labouring ship has disappeared, and the word means nothing more than 'a loss,' as in Vergil's 'facilis iactura sepulcri.' Else the metaphor would be extremely confused. As it is it seems to be taken from an overweighted swimmer.

10. **medio acervo.** From the centre of fortune's heap of chance occurrences: taken at haphazard.

15. **viscera** are the larger organs of the body; we may translate 'aglow with seething heart.' Cf. Sen. Oed. 358 'viscera spumant.' The philosophy is that of Hor. Ep. i. 6, v. 16, 17.

16. **stupet,** 'is he amazed at this?'

17. The first question which arises is to whom do the words 'stupet haec' refer? They seem to refer to Calvinus, and the sense is 'can a man like you who are over sixty be bewildered at such a thing?' and line 18 means 'or does the manifold experience of life serve to teach you no better lesson?' Some commentators make 'stupet' refer to Juvenal, in which case 'Fonteio consule natus' would fix approximately *his* age, as it would that of the Satire, if we were only sure which Fonteius was intended. One C. Fonteius Capito was consul in A.D. 59, C. Vipstanus Apronianus being his senior colleague. In the year 67 there was a Fonteius Capito who was put to death in Lower Germany at Galba's suggestion. It seems probable that this is the Fonteius here mentioned, as the name of the senior consul, as was the Fonteius in question (Tac. Hist. i. 7), was employed to fix dates. This would fix the date of this Satire at 127 A.D., the tenth year of Hadrian's reign.

19. **magna,** with 'sapientia.' 'Great is indeed philosophy: she can

conquer fortune; but not less happy than philosophers are those who have learnt to bear life easily.'

20. Weidner calls attention to the change that seems in Juvenal's later years to have come over his philosophy. In Sat. vii. 190 sqq. we find the 'felix' described as the man gifted with fine mental and bodily qualities; here it is the man gifted with resignation.

22. **iactare iugum**, 'to keck at the yoke.'

23–38. There is evil enough in the world now-a-days: it is a pretty fancy to believe that there was none in the 'good old times.'

23. **cesset**, 'is slow to,' poetically used for 'refuses.' The transition in sense is seen in such passages as Ter. Heaut. iii. 1. 1 'Cesso pultare ostium vicini?'

25. **puxis** (πυξίς), properly 'a small boxwood case;' here used for a poison box.

27. **Thebarum**. The gates of Thebes in Boeotia were seven in number, and seven were the mouths of the Nile. The formula 'sex septem' was common to express 'a few.'

28. **aetas** and **secula** are closely united, and **peior** is understood with the former.

nona aetas. Hesiod, Works and Days 109, speaks of the golden, the silver, the brazen, and the iron age. Later poets named the ages after different metals. 'The ancients had no metal base enough to call any succeeding age by. The ninth age of the Roman state is so bad that nature would fail now more than ever to give us a metal to call it after.' Jahn, following P, reads 'nunc aetas.'

32. 'The noisy dole baskets applaud Faesidius,' i.e. his retainers, to get their allowance, applaud him as he pleads. He was a 'causidicus' who hired a 'claque.' Heinrich well translates 'die brüllenden Couverts.' The metonymy is characteristic of Juvenal; cf. Sat. xii. 83 'garrula pericula.'

33. The **bulla**, or 'amulet,' laid aside when boyhood was passed. Cf. Sat. v. 164.

37. **rubenti**. Men continue to sacrifice after they have lost their faith.

40. **fugiens**, i.e. 'banished by Jupiter;' he fled to Latium and taught the people agriculture—hence he is represented with a sickle.

virguncula, see Introduction, p. xxii.

41. **privatus**. He had not yet hoped for divine honours. Juvenal satirically uses the word 'privatus,' which refers to one who was not of the imperial household.

43. **puer Iliacus**, Ganymede. 'Herculis uxor,' Hebe. 'Puer ad cyathos' seems a reminiscence of Hor. Od. i. 29. 7 'puer ad cyathum.'

46. **prandebat sibi**, 'sibi' a dativus commodi; 'for himself,' 'to suit himself.' Weidner refers to Quintilian vi. 3. 16 'Quae nunc iuvenum vel sibi ludentium exercitatio est.' The chief meal of the gods of that day was the 'prandium' and not the fashionable 'coena.'

47. **talis ut**. In classical Latin we should expect to find 'talis qualis,' or 'tanta quanta.' The process of adding new deities to the number already existing was constantly going on; cf. Gaston Boissier, La Re-

ligion romaine, tome premier, p. 78 'Une qualification nouvelle donnée à une ancienne divinité suffisait pour en faire un dieu nouveau.' Thus Augustus originated or brought into fashion the worship of Venus Genetrix, of Mars Ultor, and of Apollo Palatinus. On the tendency of polytheistic nations to multiply their divinities see again Boissier, tome premier, p. 345. We should have expected 'quisquam,' but 'aliquis' tends to take its place in silver Latinity, even in negative sentences.

49. **aliquis . . . profundi**, of Hades, as the epithet 'triste' shows. Vergil has the same epithet for 'Manes.'

52. No punishments, such as those described in the eleventh book of the Odyssey, had been invented.

54. Cf. Tac. Ann. iii. 31 'memorabantur exempla maiorum qui iuventutis irreverentiam gravibus decretis notavissent.'

56. As the 'iuvenis' had to rise before the 'senex' so had the 'puer' to rise before the 'iuvenis.'

videret, 'had before his eyes.'

licet always in classical Latin retains something of its verbal meaning: in silver Latin it has passed into a mere conjunction, like 'quamvis.' Compare the history of such words as 'supposing' 'granting,' etc.

57. 'Although he had greater store of wealth in his primitive food.'

60–70. But now we have altered all that, the age of reverence and innocence is past: we regard it as a miracle if we find an honest man.

61. 'The old money bag with its rusty coin.' **follis** is used again in Sat. xiv. 281, where he is speaking scornfully of money.

62. **Tuscis libellis.** The 'libri Etruscorum' or 'Etruscae disciplinae volumina.' The Romans derived much of their ritual from the Etruscana. See Preller, Römische Mythologie pp. 13, 70.

64. Such as the boy with an elephant's body mentioned by Livy xxvii. 11.

65. As in Livy xlii. 2 'fetae mulae;' see also Livy xxxvii. 3. 3.

68. As in Livy xxi. 46. Cf. Grimm. Deutsche Mythologie 84 and Lecky, History of Rationalism in Europe vol. i. p. 140 sqq.

Ben Jonson, in his 'Volpone,' Act ii. Sc. 1, quotes a list of prodigies believed in his time, such as 'a whale discovered in the river as high as Woolwich, that had waited there few knew how many months, for the subversion of the Stode fleet.'

70. **lactis**, as in Livy xxxiv. 45.

71–85. 'You complain that you lost merely ten sestertia! Many have lost very much more; for cheaters and tricksters are only too common, and too barefaced.'

73. **arcana**, i. e. 'entrusted without any witness save the Gods above.'

74. 'For which no vacant corner could be found in his spacious money-box.' It was all filled up.

75. **pronus** is often used in late Latin (from Sallust down) for 'facilis;' it is a somewhat stronger word. 'So easy and so tempting.'

78. **Tarpeia**, i. e. 'fulmina Iovi Capitolini.'

79. **Martis frameam.** Tacitus, Germania vi. expressly tells us that

'framea' is the German word for a 'pike' or 'lance.' It is the modern German word 'Pfriem.' Cf. Sat. ii. 130.

Cirraei vatis, Apollo. See Sat. vii. 64.

80. **venatricis puellae**, Diana.

81. **pater Aegei**. Poseidon, who was identified with Neptunus, had his palace in the depths of the sea near Aegae in Euboea.

82. **Herculeos arcus**, the celebrated bow which Hercules left to Philoctetes.

84. **flebile**, proleptic, 'to my sorrow.'

'If he is a father *besides*, he will make a vow that he will devour his own son if he lies.'

85. **Phario**. The Egyptian vinegar was reckoned very fine: see Athenaeus ii. 67. On the disappearance of the vine from Mahomedan countries see Hehn p. 72 sqq.

86–119. 'Some believe that there are no gods, and that they may forswear themselves with impunity. Others believe that there are gods, but that they are very slow to strike. You, in indignation, call on the king of the gods to strike; but he holds his hand.'

88. **natura volvente**; ablative of the cause. 'Since nature rolls round the shifting seasons.'

93. **sistro**. The 'sistrum' (*σείω*) was a kind of rattle in the shape of a prolonged horse-shoe with cross-pieces of wood inserted. Several such rattles were found in the treasury of Isis' temple at Pompeii, and are now in the museum at Naples. See Rich s. v.

96. 'Are worth risking;' are not too dear a price to pay.

locupletem podagram, 'the gout, joined to riches.'

97. **nec dubitet**, 'not even though he were a Ladas.' There were two celebrated runners of this name. The more celebrated was a Spartan, whose statue was sculptured by Myron. Pausanias, ii. 19, describes this statue at Corinth. Cf. also Catull. lv. 24, Mart. x. 100, and Anthologia Graeca, N. 312

Λάδας τὸ στάδιον εἴθ' ἥλατο εἴτε διέπτη
δαιμόνιον τὸ τάχος οὐδὲ φράσαι δυνατόν.

si non eget. 'If he does not need to be cured for madness.' **Anticyra** was a town in Phocis famous for hellebore, which was said to be a cure for madness. Cf. Horace, A. P. 300.

98. **Archigenes**, a celebrated mad-doctor, a Syrian by birth. Cf. vi. 236.

99. **esuriens**, 'that brings no food.'

100. For the mills of God grind slowly.

103. **his**, 'men of the present day;' some take it as 'crimes like this,' but the first-mentioned rendering seems the more pointed.

104. **diverso fato**, 'with opposite results.'

108. **ultro**, 'actually.'

vexare, 'to importune you to come.'

109. 'When great effrontery backs up a bad case it is deemed by the ordinary run of men to be confidence in a good cause.'

'**superesse alicui**' is used almost as a synonym of '**adesse alicui.**' Cf. line 237. Suetonius, Augustus 56, makes Augustus use it in this sense.

110. 'He is playing a farce as well as the witty Catullus,' the actor referred to in viii. 186. **urbanus** expresses the quality of 'city smartness,' as opposed to 'rusticitas.'

112, 113. **Stentor** could call as loud as fifty other men, but Ares as loud as nine or ten thousand. See Iliad v. 785, 859.

115. **vel marmoreus.** 'You must answer, whether you be marble or brazen; otherwise, why should we sacrifice to you?' The adjectives seem to be a parody upon the fancy that a deity preferred to be addressed by his proper title. Cf. such cases as Horace's 'Matutine pater seu Iane libentius audis' Sat. ii. 6. 20, and Carm. Saec. 15 'Sive tu Lucina probas vocari Seu Genitalis.'

116. **charta soluta,** satirical. 'We bring you precious frankincense in paper wrappers.' Bad poems were used for such purposes. See Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 269 sq.

117. The minute description of the dainty tid-bits offered to tempt the god to speak is satirical.

119. **Vagellius.** Cf. xvi. 23 'mulino corde Vagelli.' He was a spouter who probably had some statue of himself in his house.

120–142. 'Now hear the words of common sense. Your case is common, only too common; you cannot then hope for absolute exemption from the common lot.'

121. **et qui,** 'even such a man who.'

122. The cynics wore no tunic under their 'pallium;' they were called ἀχίτωνες.

Epicurum. Epicurus and his garden are often quoted. Pliny, N. H. xix. 4, says that Epicurus was the first to lay out a garden at Athens. Montaigne quotes Epicurus with admiration in his Essay on Managing the Will.

123. **suspicit,** 'looks on with reverence.'

124. 'Great diseases call for great doctors; yours is so simple and common that an apprentice could manage it.'

125. **Philippus,** the celebrated doctor who attended Alexander the Great; he belonged to the 'medici maiores.'

129. Closing the door is the sign of public and private mourning. See Tac Ann. ii. 2.

132. **vestem diducere summam.** 'To rend in twain the hem of his garment;' the grief is not enough to make the mourner even seriously rend his clothes.

135. **fora,** tribunals where debts were decided.

136. 'If after their notes of hand have been perused half a score of times by the other side, they (i. e. the 'infitiatores') pronounce the signature worthless, and the tablets no good.' Of course the signature having been scrutinised by the advocate of the other side would be an argument for its being carefully examined.

138. Their own signature, and their own seal. An expensive sar-

donyx kept in an expensive case, by-the-by, convicts them, and yet they deny it!

140. **o delicias!** 'My fanciful friend.' Cf. vi. 47.

141. **gallinae.** Because white hens were held by the Romans not to be prolific, and hence their progeny would be exceptional. Columella, De R. R. viii. 2. 7.

144. **si flectas.** The subjunctive prefers a request. 'If you would turn your eyes,' etc.

146. The door being on fire would prove that the fire was designed so that no one could escape.

150. **haec.** 'If these costly things are not there to steal, you get a sacrilegious thief on a smaller scale, why should he hesitate? 'tis common to melt down an entire image of the Thunderer.' Probably there is a reference here to some notorious crime of the day of which we are not aware.

152. **bratteolam** or **bracteolam** is a *thin* leaf of gold, as expressed by the diminutive.

154. **artifices**, to be taken closely with 'veneni,' the apothecaries who are so skilled in the preparation of poison.

155. 'One who deserves to be launched.' The metaphor, as Lewis notices, is from a ship.

156. The punishment of parricides. Cf. Sat. viii. 214.

157. The 'custos urbis' is the 'praefectus urbi.' His duties embraced almost all the criminal jurisdiction of Rome. C. Rutilius **Gallicus** was 'praefectus urbi' under Domitian; so, if this Satire was not written till some thirty years after Domitian's death, we must suppose that Gallicus is used as the type of a class.

160. 'Spend a few days in Gallicus' house, and then venture to call yourself wretched.'

162. **tumidum guttur.** The goître, still common among the inhabitants of the Alpine valleys.

163. The ugly trait mentioned is common among the South Sea Islanders at the present day.

164. Tacitus, Germ. 4, speaks of the German 'truces et caerulei oculi.'

165. Weidner takes **torquentem** as 'the man who twists,' as if it were 'et si quem hominem videat madido cirro cornua torquentem.' It seems simpler to take it with 'caesaries,' which is itself said 'torquere cornua,' lit. 'their hair which twists the tufts of its moistened curls.' Tac. Germ. 38 tells us 'insigne gentis obliquare crinem nodoque substringere.' They combed their hair back and gathered it into a hornlike knot; they also dyed and moistened their hair with a kind of soap, which explains 'madidus,' see Plin. N. H. xxviii. § 191.

168. The Pygmies were supposed to live in India, or at the sources of the Nile; the cranes wage incessant war against them by rifling their fields. Cf. Homer, Il. iii. 7. Verg. Georg. i. 120 talks of 'Strymoniae grues.' On the legend of the Cranes and Pygmies see Sayce, Introduction to the Science of Language vol. ii. p. 266.

174–198. 'Well, then, is perjury to go wholly unpunished? Surely I have a right to claim revenge?' This is the doctrine of the unenlightened: the sage would not agree with you. Besides, Conscience is the most sure avenger.

175. **graviore catena** is an ablative of the manner.

176. **nostro.** Juvenal implies that he would like to see the defaulters punished as much as Calvinus would.

178. **sospes.** Properly of one who has survived peril; 'your deposit is wrecked, and can never return, but if his body should be maimed the little blood made to flow will give you a hateful consolation after all.'

180. Montaigne in his Essay on Diversion (IV) maintains the doctrine which Juvenal denies.

181. **indocti.** In contrast to the 'sapientes,' or 'enlightened,' for the ancients found their consolation in philosophy, and not in religion. 'A rooted hatred, an inveterate thirst of revenge, is a sort of madness, and still eddies round its favourite object.' Coleridge, Sibylline Leaves.

184. **Chrysippus,** as representative of the Stoics; **Thales,** as representative of the wisdom of old times.

185. 'Nor Socrates, sweet as the honey of his own Hymettus.' Cf. Sat. vii. 206. He was seventy at the time of his trial.

187. **nollet,** 'would not wish.' 'Noluerit' would have been 'did not wish.' Horace, Sat. ii. 4. 3, talks of Socrates as 'Anyti reum.'

191. 'You may infer the truth of this immediately, for none is so prone to revenge as a woman.' Cf. Seneca, De Ira (quoted by Mayor) i. 13 'ira muliebre maxime et puerile vitium est.'

194. **mens habet attonitos.** Such uses as that of 'habere' in this passage prepare us for the use of the auxiliary verb in the Roman languages; but 'habere' implies the idea of *keeping* in suspense. By the time of Ulpian 'habere' has come to be used as a simple auxiliary: cf. Dig. 48. 5 'Neque enim laborare habet.' The whole process of the transition of 'habere' into a mere auxiliary is treated by Thielmann, in Wölfflin's Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie, 1884.

197. **Caedicius,** some strict judge of Juvenal's time.

199. This story is told exactly after Herodotus vi. 86.

204. **moribus,** 'principle.'

208. Glaucus then was punished for wishing to break his oath: how much more surely shall punishment await him who has actually carried out what he meditated.

210. **cedo.** Most common in comedy, and in the language of ordinary life. The word is composed of ci, or ce, an old demonstrative form seen in cis, citer, etc.. and dare. In Plautus and Terence we still find the word used in the sense of 'give.' Cf. Phorm. v 8. 42 'Quin tu mi argentum cedo. *Ph.* Immo vero uxorem tu cedo!'

conata. The word is used in a passive sense. Cf. the use of 'venerata Ceres' in Horace, Sat. ii. 2. 124.

220. On the power of Conscience see Montaigne's 'Essay on Conscience' and the instances quoted by him of its terrible power.

225. **fortuitus.** To be scanned as a trisyllable, for the *i* is long; see Hor. Od. ii. 15. 17.

ventorum rabie. The Romans believed that thunder and lightning were actually produced from the friction of the clouds. Mayor quotes Minuc. Fel. 5. § 9 'nimbis collidentibus tonitrua mugire, rutilare fulgura, fulmina praemicare.'

227. **cura graviore.** His conscience tells him that the storm is bound to come; so, as it has been deferred during the late spell of fine weather, it will be worse when it does come.

233. In Plato, Phaed. 188, Socrates specially charges Crito to pay such a vow.

236. **malorum.** To be taken as the genitive pl. masculine.

237. **superest.** 'Constancy comes to their support.' Cf. above, line 109.

242. **attrita.** The Romans used 'frons' absolutely for 'shame,' as Persius v. 104. Cf. Sat. xiv. 56.

244. **in laqueum.** To be strangled in 'the Tullianum.'

248. **nominis invisi,** 'the man of hated name.'

SATIRE XIV.

ON THE INFLUENCE OF EXAMPLE.

THE allusions in this Satire supply no real evidence of its date, since at most they prove only that it was composed after a campaign against the Brigantes (l. 196), and before the construction of Hadrian's palace, at Tibur, as otherwise the buildings of Cretonius would not be spoken of (l. 86) as the grandest in that part. There were campaigns against the Brigantes under Vespasian, under Domitian, and under Hadrian; so that this teaches us nothing; and Hadrian's palace at Tibur was probably erected in the latter part of his reign, when Juvenal was dead. Still it is not impossible that the revolt among the northern tribes which forced Hadrian to visit Britain in 119, recalled the Brigantes, among whom Juvenal had once lived, and his own ill-requited services to his recollection. In that case this Satire belongs to his old age, as would seem probable from its great maturity of thought and elevated morality. In the ninth Satire Juvenal advocated an honourable life as a safe-guard against the gossip of slaves. Here it is the infant child who is to stand between the father and sin, and the vice chiefly reprobated is not that by which families are ruined, but that by which unrighteous fortunes are made.

There is a curious illustration of the phrase 'pueri reverentia' in Pliny's Epistles, viii. 24. Pliny tells us that whenever Numidia Quadratilla played dice, or looked on at the latter, she used to tell her grandson to go away to his work, 'quod mihi non amore eius magis facere quam reverentia videbatur.'

SATIRE XIV.

With this Satire may be read Montaigne's letter to **Madame Diana de Foix**, on the Education of Children.

ARGUMENT.

Parents often teach their children to be gamesters or gluttons, forgetting that no tutors in after-life can counteract the examples that the child of seven has studied, ll. 1–14. Can Rutilus who scourges, tortures, brands, and imprisons his slaves, teach his son humanity and respect for the brotherhood of man? ll. 15–24. Do you think the daughter of Larga, who is the confidante of her mother's innumerable adulteries, can ever grow up chaste? ll. 25–30. It is human nature that the example of vice in our houses from those we reverence should be all-powerful: though a few of firm and generous instincts may be better than their bringing up, ll. 31–37. Therefore, if you wish your children to grow up good and honourable, let them not see in you the infectious example of evil; if you would have them pure, keep your household and words and acts unsullied, ll. 38–46; reverence your child, that you may have the right to censure his follies when he has come to manhood, ll. 47–58.

If a guest is coming you put your house in order, and polish up vases, and clear away filth and rubbish of every kind, ll. 59–67; is it less important that your son should live in a virginally pure home? ll. 68–69 It is a great thing to give the fatherland one citizen the more, provided always he is trained to manage a property or serve in arms, as the stork and the vulture train their young to live on appropriate food, ll. 70–85.

Cretonius diminished his property by building on a grand scale; the son has ruined the estate by out-doing his father's profession, ll. 86–95. Such a man is circumcised, will not touch pork, will not render the offices of common humanity to strangers, and worships only a God in the clouds; is it not the fault of his father who lapsed into Judaism? ll. 95–106.

It is saddest of all that young men who are not naturally avaricious are made misers by their father's teaching, and learn to regard the arts of keeping and increasing an estate as the noblest, ll. 107–118. The father who thinks that content of mind and happiness cannot be dissevered from wealth teaches his children the vile elements of money-making, ll. 119–125. Starves the household and himself with insufficient and bad food; and lives like a beggar that he may die rich, ll. 126–137; and when he is rich he does nothing but add field to field, and if his poorer neighbours will not sell their freeholds, turns in his cattle by night to eat off the grass, ll. 138–151. The ill-repute of these actions does not affect him: he will risk destitution sooner than live on a modest conscience and a good name, ll. 152–155. Yet it was better for health and peace of mind when our forefathers, under Tatius or after the Punic

wars, lived contented on their freeholds of two acres to a family—not enough for a garden now, but then enough for the owner, his wife and children and slave; ay, and to furnish supper for their big brothers, ll. 156–171. It is this wish for large properties that incites to great crimes, ll. 172–178. Our Samnite and Sabellian fathers understood this, and urged their sons to be content with the rough sheepskin for dress, and with the corn from their own furrows for bread, ll. 179–188. Now the father calls up his son at midnight and bids him train to be a lawyer, a soldier, or a commission agent, ll. 189–205. No one cares how the money is got, provided it is there, ll. 205–209. I might tell a parent of this stamp not to trouble himself, his instructions are certain to be bettered by his children, who, as they grow up, will seek for gold, though it be by perjuries and private assassinations, ll. 210–224. You will say you never intended this. No, but if you instil the passion for a great estate, you cannot put limits to the means of acquiring it, ll. 225–234. Teach your son that the generous virtues are foolish, and you destroy every unselfish and patriotic sentiment, ll. 235–243. Last of all your own horoscope will be taken, and your son will mingle poison for you, ll. 244–255.

It is better than a play to watch the dangers that are incurred for money-making, ll. 256–264. The man who earns his living on the tight rope does not court death more than the merchant, who lets himself be storm-tost that he may increase his wealth, ll. 265–275. Yet the sea is covered with argosies, that you may fill your money-bags, and boast of the wonders seen, ll. 275–283. There are different forms of lunacy, and though you have no insane delusion, and do not rend your clothes like Orestes or Ajax, you commit equal madness when you run the chance of beggary or death in a loaded ship on a stormy sea, 284–302.

It is as difficult to keep what you have got as to get it. The cynic can replace or mend a damaged tub, but the owner of a richly-furnished house must keep a troop of slaves trained to the duty of firemen, ll. 303–315. How much then does man want? Not, more I think, than natural needs ask, than sufficed Epicurus or Socrates, ll. 316–321. Is this too little? Take the qualification of one, two, or even three knights, ll. 321–326. If even that does not content you, neither would the wealth of Croesus nor of Narcissus, ll. 327–331.

It will be seen that this Satire is directed (1) against the bad example which parents are in the habit of setting to boys in general, and (2) especially against the vice of avarice, which is only too apt to spring up, even without their example.

1. **Fuscine.** Unknown.
2. **maculam haesuram,** 'a lasting blemish on a bright fortune.'
3. **monstrant,** by their example.

tradunt, by their false teaching.

5. **bullatus.** See Satire v. 164. The bulla was the amulet which was laid aside with the 'toga praetexta,' and dedicated to the Lares. Juvenal regards the dice-play as a battle; cf. Sat. i. 91, 92.

6. And the son of the glutton leads you to expect that you will find gluttony developed in him as surely as you will find the spirit of gambling developed in the son of the gambler.

7. **radere tubera**, i. e. to dig truffles.

9. **mergere**, 'to souse,' not, as Weidner takes it, 'ventre vel gula.'

10. **cana gula.** 'Canus' refers to the 'glutton,' the idea of which is contained in 'gula.'

12. **barbatos**, because it was the custom of philosophers to grow their beard,—'pascere barbam.' Hence Persius iv. 1 speaks of Socrates as 'barbatum magistrum.'

15. Then again, in the matter of cruelty, do you think that a son who has grown up with the example of a Rutilus before his eyes can ever grow up humane? **aequus** is said of one who looks indulgently upon small faults, Hor. Sat. i. 3. 118.

17. **Rutilus** is the subject of **praecipit** and **putat**.

19. 'No siren song is to him so sweet as the sound of the lash.'

20. He is a true **Antiphates**, as bad as the king of the Laestrygones in Homer, Odyssey x. 80; a regular cannibal.

22. **duo propter lintea.** 'All for a couple of napkins stolen.'

24. **inscripta ergastula.** 'The branded gangs.' 'Ergastula' for 'slaves,' as 'servitia' for 'servi.' 'Inscriptio frontis' was commonly the punishment of runaway slaves only.

mire adficiunt, 'strike with peculiar admiration.'

25. **rusticus expectas.** The language of Horace, Ep. 1. 2. 42, is in his mind, though the thought is different.

31. 'Home examples affect us more than others, seeing that (**cum**) their authority is so weighty.'

35. **praecordia.** The heart as the seat of *conscience* as well as that of *intellect*. Cf. Sat. i. 167.

Titan, i. e. Prometheus, son of the Titan Iapetus. Cf. 'Satus Iapeto,' Ov. Met. i. 82. In Met. i. 395 Pyrrha is called 'Titania,' as daughter of Epimetheus. Juvenal seems to have in his mind Horace, Odes i. 16. 13 'Fertur Prometheus addere principi Limo coactus particulam undique Desectam.'

36. 'The footsteps which should serve them as a warning what to avoid, do, as a fact, serve them as a guide.'

37. **orbita.** The wheel track, and thus the path.

38. Note the substantival use of the gerundive in **damnandis**. In Greek we should here expect the article.

39. 'For such abstinence there is at least one powerful reason.'

42. **Quocumque** would more naturally be 'quovis.'

We are all so ready to follow bad examples that a monster of vice is common, a paragon of virtue a rarity.

43. **Brutus**, the murderer of Caesar: his uncle was Cato, whose sister Servilia was the mother of Brutus.

47. The thought corresponds with that expressed by Quintilian i. 2. 8 and xi. 1. 66.

48. **tu** enforces a precept, as in Hor. Sat. i. 9. 16.

49. **peccaturo obstet.** Notice the hiatus before the caesura in the third arsis. Another reading, which avoids this hiatus, is 'sed tibi peccaturo obsistat filius infans.'

50. 'Let your infant son stand in your way and point you back from vice; *for* should he turn out badly you will scold him and punish him, or disinherit him.'

55. **tabulas mutare**, 'recast your will.'

56. 'Whence can you claim a parent's authority and a parent's liberty if you, the older, do worse than the younger, and by your mad actions prove that you need the cupping-glass?'

unde takes an accusative with some word like 'parabis' understood. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 102 'unde mihi tam fortem.' With 'frontem' cf. the use of the French 'front' and our 'effrontery.' Cf. Sat. xiii. 242.

58. **cucurbita**, 'a cupping-glass,' so called from its shape. 'The air was exhausted in it by burning lighted linen; the instrument was then applied to the skin, and the pressure of the external air would force the nearly exhausted instrument with a strong draught' (Mayor). The Romans, not understanding the cause of a vacuum, called the instrument 'Ventosa,' as if it could itself set up a draught. It was from this draught that the French gave their name 'ventouse' to the cupping-glass.

59–69. 'You take great care not to let a guest see aught amiss, or even untidy; surely you should take greater care still with respect to your son.'

60. **pavimentum**, the mosaic pavement. For the care bestowed on its cleanliness see Hor. Od. ii. 14. 27 and Becker's Gallus p. 270.

61. **arida**, left untouched so long that it had dried.

62. **leve argentum**, i.e. 'purum,' 'plain,' as contrasted with 'asperum,' or 'embossed' plate.

68. **illud non agitas.** 'You do not discuss *this* question.'

73. '*Ay* (**enim**), but it will depend mainly on the way in which you bring him up; on the way of life which you have yourself employed.' Thus 'quibus artibus et quibus moribus' might fairly be taken as = 'quibus artibus et quibus moribus tu ipse usus iuvenem instituas.' So Weidner interprets, and it seems rightly.

75. **devia**, 'unfrequented,' as in Ov. Met. i. 675 'per devia rura.'

80. The vulture, as a matter of fact, builds in rocks.

84. The antecedent is attracted into the relative clause. Such uses of the pronoun prepare us for the use of the same words as articles in the Romance languages.

86–95. 'The influence of example may be seen in every-day life; the father has a caprice for building: the caprice has become in the son a mania.'

87. **Cretonius** chose the most beautiful sites for building: Caieta was on the pretty Latian coast, Tibur and Praeneste were in the highlands of Latium. The temple of Fortuna was at Praeneste and that of Hercules at Tibur. Cretonius eclipsed the finest buildings in the provinces as effectually as did **Posides**, Claudius' favourite, the Capitol at Rome. Pliny, H. N. xxxi. 5, tells us about the 'Posidianae aquae,' baths which Posides built at Baiae; possibly he also built a large house at Rome. Cf. Suet. Claud. 28.

96. It is just the same in the case of the Jews. The fathers ape the manners and cult of this strange sect: the sons actually become Jews. For the position of the Jews in Rome see Milman's History of the Jews vol. iii. p. 140.

metuentem sabbata. The father followed the prevailing fashion of imitating Eastern religions: cf. Boissier, La Religion romaine vol. ii. c. ii. The observance of the Sabbath was one of the features in the Jewish religion which most struck the Romans. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 9. 69–71 'hodie tricesima sabbata.' Cf. also Ovid, Rem. Amor. 219 and Persius v. 184.

97. **nil praeter,** etc. Cf. Tac. Hist. v. 5 'Iudaei mente sola unumque numen intellegunt,' and ib. c. 9 he expressly remarks that they allow no images in their temples. Cf. Hume, Natural History of Religion, Section viii, for the reasons why the Jews were hostile to the arts of statuary and painting.

98. 'And they think that it is as bad to eat swine's flesh as to be a cannibal.' Plut. Qu. Conviv. 5 states the reason to be the fear of leprosy; and this reason is repeated by Tac. Hist. v. 4 'sue abstinent memoria cladis quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id animal obnoxium.' (Quoted by Mayor.)

99. In a short time they become actual proselytes and are circumcised.

100. The main grievance which the Romans had against the Jews was that they sought to establish an 'imperium in imperio.' The Romans asked no questions about the religion of foreigners settling at Rome provided that these acknowledged the imperial supremacy of the Caesar.

103. **non monstrare.** Some word like 'solent' must be supplied from 'ediscunt' and 'servant;' for the fact alleged see Tacitus, Hist. v. 4 'Moyses quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. Profana illic omnia quae apud nos sacra; rursum concessum apud illos quae nobis incesta.'

106. He has come to this height of superstition, thanks to his father, who merely observed the Sabbath. The subject of 'attigit' is of course 'pater,'—'qui septimo quoque die partem vitae non attigit ullam.' The wish to convert others to their religion, except for political reasons, seemed strange to a Roman.

107–160. 'Young men imitate other vices, but avarice is actually enjoined on them; it seems at first sight so much akin to a virtue that it actually gets credit instead of reprobation.'

109. In fact, were avarice palpably a 'vitium,' it would be readily imitated.

110. 'Since it is serious in its mien, and imposing in looks and garb.'

112. **tutela**, metonymically for 'tutor;' see Horace, Ep. i. 1. 3 and Od. iv. 14. 43 'tutela praesens Italiae dominaeque Romae.'

114. **Hesperidum serpens**; the dragon which guards the golden apples in the garden of the Hesperides. Cf. Verg. Aen. iv. 485.

Ponticus. The guardian of the golden fleece in Colchis. Ov. Met. vii. 149.

117. This verse is omitted by Weidner as spurious. The 'quocunque modo' seems a reminiscence of Horace, Ep. i. 1. 65 'rem facias rem, Si possis recte, si non, quocunque modo rem.'

119. **animi** is the locative case: traces of which are found in such forms as 'die quinti;' the older ending was in -ei.

121. P here reads 'illa via' for the ordinary 'illam viam.'

123. There is, so to speak, an alphabet of vice to be learnt by him who would perform a successful Rake's Progress; and perfection in vice comes as gradually as perfection in virtue.

125. This verse is suspected by Weidner and some other critics as not genuine, but the best MSS. receive it as such.

126. The slaves had a certain ration of food allowed them by the day or month: small as this is, he makes it still smaller by unjust measures.

iniquus seems to have been a legal term. Cf. Dig. xix. i. 32 (quoted by Weidner) 'siquis a me oleum quod emisset, adhibitus iniquis ponderibus accepisset,' etc. Also cf. Persius i. 130.

127. Nor indeed can he ever brook the thought of consuming all the fragments of mouldy bread. **caeruleus** is, as is well known, a word of somewhat vague meaning; it seems to mean originally dark, and passing through gradations of grey to end in blue. In the same way the German 'blau' and our 'blue' originally signified 'black.' Cf. Geiger, Development of the Human Race p. 55.

129. **minutal**, 'mincemeat.'

131. **lacertus**. A cheap fish.

132. **signatam**, 'with a seal set on it;' the 'cum' is repeated in sense before 'dimidio putrique siluro.'

133. **porrum** was a very popular esculent, though considered, however, somewhat low. See Mart. i. 3. 18 and Hehn p. 166.

134. **aliquis de ponte**. The first beggar you meet. Cf. Sat. v. 8.

135. For the construction as well as the thought cf. Hor. Ep. i. 5. 12 'Quo mihi fortunam si non conceditur uti.'

139. Solon, El. xi. 71, has the same thought. Cf. also Horace, Od. ii. 2, etc.

140. **ergo**. 'And so,' i. e. since it is true that the more a man has the more he wants.

145. But if the owner, Naboth-like, refuses to sell the plot which you covet, you will send your starved cattle to make a clean sweep of his grass.

149. 'Thou would'st deem 'twere the work of reaping-hooks.'

150. 'It sounds incredible, but it is true, that many an estate has been brought into the market by means like this.'

152. 'But then what does common report say about you?' 'Oh,' says he, 'I would rather stick to my diet of bean-pods, than be praised by the whole country-side for my moderation in holding only a small estate.'

153. **inquit** (the reply is) without an expressed nom. to introduce an answer to an objection is common in silver Latinity. See Sat. x. 229.

156. **scilicet.** 'Then I am to suppose that you will get rid by your wealth of all illness and care? Or that you will live longer if you should be the sole proprietor of an estate under culture as large as your ancestors enjoyed under Tatius after Rome had joined the Sabines?'

161. **mox etiam.** 'Ay and even at a later date than this veterans received a couple of iugera only.' 'Mox' joined to a conjunction is not found in Cicero or Livy.

165. **meritis minor,** 'too small for their deserts.'

166. **curta fides,** 'a breach of faith.'

168. The slaves and masters in those days played together, as they also worked together in the fields.

171. **pultibus,** 'spelt porridge,' the national dish of the Romans, as 'polenta' is of the Italians of the present day. Plautus makes one of his characters (Most. 828) speak of a Roman as a 'pultiphagus barbarus,' though the name 'puls' seems to have come to the Romans from the Greeks (*πόλτος* is used by Alkman), like 'placenta' from *πλακοῦντα*, etc. See Hehn p. 456 sqq.

183. 'Thanks to whose gift of corn man has been able to look with contempt on his ancient food of acorns.' Juvenal seems to have in mind Verg. Georg. i. 7, 8.

185. 'That man will have no lawless thought who is proud to don high leather boots in the face of ice and east wind.'

186. **summovet,** the word of the consul when directing his lictor to disperse a crowd; possibly so used here: he proudly challenges the east winds to stand aside by donning skins with the hair inward.

188. **quaecumque est,** for there were several kinds of purple, and the Sabellian knows no difference. For the different kinds of purple see Becker's Gallus p. 446.

190. **post finem autumni.** The Roman autumn lasted till the middle of November. During the autumn months all business was at a standstill and the courts were shut.

media de nocte; *de* joined to nouns of time signifies that the time has not yet expired. 'While night is yet at its height.'

192. **rubras maiorum leges.** The titles and first words of the law were written with vermilion; hence 'rubrica,' our 'rubric,' stands actually for 'a law' in Persius v. 90.

193. **aut vitem, i.e.** 'centurionatum:' 'a centurionship;' for the

centurion carried a vine wand to punish disobedient soldiers. The father tells his son that he is not to obtain this post by bravery but by a petition.

194. 'Only you must take care that **Laelius** (the general) sees that your head is untouched by the comb and that he marks your broad shoulders.' A general look of roughness was considered a recommendation for the army; cf. Theoph. Char. xix. § 2 *τὰς μασχάλας θηριώδεις καὶ δασείας ἔχειν ἄχρις ἐπὶ πολὺ τῶν πλευρῶν*: cf. also Pers. iii. 77, where the centuriones are called 'gens hircosa.'

196. **attegias**, 'mud-huts:' connected with 'tego' and 'tegumen.' The 'ad' probably refers to the supports of the tent; cf. our word 'lean-to.'

Brigantum, who held the north of England, with Eboracum (York) for their capital.

197. **locupletem aquilam** = 'primum pilum:' the eagle was in charge of the first centurion of the first cohort: the post conferred the dignity and census of an 'eques' (Mayor).

198. 'Or, if you tremble at the thought of being a soldier, prepare to go into trade and to put aside all scruples; deal in wares so noisome that you must cross the Tiber to sell them.'

201. **pluris dimidio**, 'for half as much again:' at more by a half than you gave: i. e. at 50 per cent. clear profit.

202. The 'regio Transtiberina' was the home of petty traders, and especially of tanners, whose noisome trade would not be tolerated in other parts of the city. Cf. Mart. i. 41, l. 3 and vi. 93, l. 4.

204. Cf. Mart. ix. 60. 11 'Consuluit nares an olerent aera Corinthon.' Cf. also Cic. in Verr. ii. 4. 44.

206. The poet referred to is probably some old Greek tragedian, whose words are translated by Seneca, Ep. xix. 6. 14

> 'Sine me vocari pessimum, ut dives vocer.
> An dives, omnes quaerimus, nemo an bonus.
> Non quare et unde, quid habeas, tantum rogant.
> Ubique tanti quisque, quantum habuit, fuit.'

208. **vetulae assae**, 'their old nurses.' The idea is much like that expressed in Horace, Ep. i. 4. 8.

210. The meaning is 'to parents of this kind I can guarantee that the son will not be long in outdoing the father without any extra anxiety on the part of the latter.'

214. From Ovid, Met. xv. 850. Ajax and Achilles surpassed their fathers in worth and prowess: your son will surpass you in worthlessness.

215. **parcendum est teneris.** From Vergil, Georgics ii. 363. 'You must be tender with the young.' These are the words in which Vergil recommends the planter to be careful of the young plant.

Nondum. Vice has not yet matured in his bones.

216. **ast**, 'but as a set-off.'

217. **longi mucronem cultri**, 'the razor.' The Roman youth allowed his hair and beard to grow till his twenty-first year; it was

then cut for the first time, and the hair cut off was preserved in a casket and dedicated to the Lares.

219. **tangere aram.** The ancients, to give solemnity to an oath, laid their hands on the altar. Cf. Cornelius Nepos, Hannibal ii. 4, and Hor. Od. iii. 23. 17 'Immunis aram si tetigit manus,' etc.

220. **elatam.** 'Your son's wife, if she have a fortune, is as good as buried. The rogue will wish to enjoy her dowry as well as to have the chance of getting another.'

222. 'What you think must be gained by hard work and travail he will get by the shorter cut of vice.'

224. 'The trouble involved by a serious crime is nothing: the greater the crime the less the trouble.'

225. **olim,** 'one day,' when the crime has been done.

229. This verse is wanting in several MSS., and is probably spurious. It is marked as doubtful by Jahn.

230. **totas effundit habenas,** 'throws him the reins quite loose.'

235. 'When you impress upon a boy that a man is foolish who gives to a friend.' Cf. Boileau, Sat. vii. 191 sq.

> 'Endurcis-toi le cœur; sois Arabe, corsaire . . .
> Ne va point sottement faire le généreux;
> Engraisse-toi, mon fils, du suc des malheureux.'

238. i.e. 'quorum amor in te est tantus quantus.'

240. **Menoeceus,** son of Creon, sacrificed himself to save Thebes, and the story was one of the common-places of Greek tragedy. See Eurip. Phoenissae 841.

241. **quorum,** i.e. Thebanorum. The lines referring to the belief of the Greeks are, as usual when Juvenal refers to this topic, satirical; 'though in that country anything might happen, if legions could rise armed from their fields.' Cf. Sat. x. 174.

247. As the lion described by Martial, Spec. x, actually did.

248. 'You say that the astrologers have cast your horoscope, and calculated your length of days: but the young man does not feel inclined to wait for destiny; he will anticipate.' For the **Mathematici,** or Chaldaei, see Sat. iii. 43. **Grave** (est) **tardas exspectare colus,** ''tis a trial to him to wait till those slow threads are spun.'

249. Cf. Ovid, Met. i. 148 'Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos.'

251. **cervina senectus.** Cf. Pliny, N. H. viii. 50 'Vita cervis in confesso longa, post centum annos aliquibus captis cum torquibus aureis quos Alexander Magnus addiderat!'

252. **Archigenes.** A celebrated physician at Rome in Trajan's time, referred to in Sat. vi. 236.

256–302. If you want to see a more amusing spectacle in real life than any offered at the theatre or the games, you may find it in the comedy of 'l'Avare' of real life. He will run more risks in the pursuit of money than any rope-dancer.

257. The **praetor,** under the empire, presided at the 'ludi scaenici,' which, under the republic, were provided by the curule aedile.

260. **fiscus**, properly the emperor's privy purse; here used generally for any treasure.

Castora. The temple of Castor on the S. W. side of the Forum. In the neighbourhood were the tables of the money-lenders: and money was often deposited for safety in this, as in other temples. The following words tell us that the temple of Mars Ultor, built by Augustus, was the favourite deposit for money, until the war-god lost his defensive armour; either by sacrilegious hands, or possibly by a conflagration. See Burn, Old Rome p. 38 sqq. and p. 92.

262. 'You may then turn your back on the Floralia, the Cerealia, and the Megalesia; the comedy of real life is more amusing than all these.' The Floralia were celebrated from April 28th till May 3rd; the Cerealia and Megalesia were both celebrated in April. The Megalesia especially were the cause of much rioting.

264. 'Tanto maiores ludi sunt humana negotia.'

265. **petauro** (*πέταυρον*, properly a perch for fowls), a stage machine of some kind, such as a springboard or trapeze, by the aid of which the performers went through different acrobatic tricks. One of the features of Trimalchio's supper was the performance of 'petauristae,' Petronius 53. These had to spring through burning hoops.

266. Horace (Ep. ii. 1. 210) speaks of the performances of the tight rope dancer as little less than miraculous; Juvenal speaks of the vagaries of the avaricious as a greater wonder still.

267. **Corycia.** Corycus was the name of a town and promontory in Cilicia, celebrated for its saffron. Cf. Hor. Sat. ii. 4. 68 and Mart. de Spect. iii. 8. Strabo speaks of Cilicia as supplying good timber for ships.

269. **sacci olentis**, 'saffron;' much used for artificially scenting the theatres; see Becker's Gallus p. 45, note. Cf. Sen. Quaest. Nat. ii. 9. 'Olens' is generally used of disagreeable smells. Cf. Martial's epigram iv. 4 'non redolet, sed olet.'

271. **passum**, wine made of dried grapes spread out (pando). The idea is, 'Your pleasure is to visit even classic Crete, not for its memories, but to bring away its raisin wine.' Athenaeus x. 11 (quoted by Lemaire) tells us that Roman ladies were strictly forbidden to drink wine, but that they were allowed to drink *τὸν καλούμενον πασσόν*, which, he adds, was sweet, like Cretan wine.

The flagons are called Jove's fellow-burghers because he was reared in Crete. Cf. Aristoph. Acharn. 333 *ὁ λάρκος δημότης ὅδ' ἐστὶν ἐμός*.

272. 'The rope dancer risks his life for his bread; you risk yours to add villa to villa.'

275. **temerarius**, 'reckless.'

276. **plus hominum.** 'To-day there are actually more men on the sea than on land.' This use of 'plus' = *τὸ πλέον* is not found in classical Latin.

278. **Carpathium aequor**, that between Rhodes and Crete. Cf.

Hor. iv. 5. 10. It was the route for the traffic from Italy to Asia Minor. **Gaetulus** is used simply for 'African.'

Calpe, Gibraltar. 'He will venture beyond the pillars of Hercules into the unknown Ocean where the sun sinks into the sea with a hissing sound.' Cf. Tac. Germania 45, who speaks of the same thing occurring 'in alio mari trans Suinas.'

281. **tenso folle**, 'with crammed purse;' **aluta** is likewise a leather urse, softened by being steeped in alum.

283. In speaking ironically of the 'young folks of the sea,' Juvenal is thinking of 'the sight of Proteus rising from the sea,' and 'Triton blowing on his wreathed horn.' For the 'monstra' cf. Tac. Ann. ii. 24, who describes the soldiers telling of the wonders witnessed during their German expedition, 'vim turbinum et inauditas volucres, monstra maris, ambiguas hominum et belluarum formas.'

284. Avarice is only *one* phase of madness. Euripides in his 'Orestes,' ll. 260–264, gives us another, where Orestes sees in his lunacy the Furies rushing to his destruction, and Electra, his sister, holds him in her arms and beckons the wild figures to stand off. Juvenal seems to have in his mind Horace, Sat. ii. 3. 50 sqq.

286. Aiax, again as depicted by Sophocles, was mad in a different way; he was driven mad by disappointed ambition. Cf. Sophocles, Aiax 53 sq.

287. 'Even though he refrain from tearing his clothes, the man who will risk drowning for so little needs a keeper.'

289. **distinguitur**, 'is parted from the wave by but a plank's breadth.'

291. Coins with the head of the Emperor and his titles.

292. 'He sets sail in quest of his gain in spite of every menace of the weather; he says the lowering sky and strip of cloud are nothing; 'tis mere summer thunder.'

296. **fractis trabibus**, 'shivered timbers.'

297. 'He swims with his right and tries to save his purse with his left hand and his teeth.' Lukian has a similar picture, Dialog. Mort. xi. 4 *τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ὀδοῦσι καὶ ὄνυξι καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ ἐφύλαττον.*

302. Referring to the custom alluded to in Sat. xii. 27; shipwrecked mariners got the picture of their catastrophe roughly painted and displayed the picture to excite pity.

303–331. 'Comfort yourself by reflecting on the troubles of the rich and the very little that nature needs.'

306. **Licinus**. The type of a millionaire. Cf. Sat. i. 109.

attonitus, 'distracted.' The word seems in late Latin to have a less strong signification than in classical Latin; cf. Plin. Ep. i. 22. § 1.

307. **electro**, his 'amber,' out of which drinking cups were made. Cf. Sat. v. 38.

Phrygia columna. Phrygian marble from Synnada. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 1, states that the 'lapis Synnadicus' was relieved by artificially inserted purple spots, 'Neronis principatu inventum ut purpura distingueretur Synnadicus (lapis).'

308. **lata testudine**, possibly of the 'lacunaria,' or ceilings inlaid with tortoise-shell; though it may refer to the couches inlaid with the same material.

311. Plutarch, Alex. 14, § 2 describes the meeting, merely stating, however, that Diogenes *ἔτυχε κατακείμενος ἐν ἡλίῳ*.

315. This line is repeated from Sat. x. 351.

316. Cf. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 73. Cf. also Menander, quoted by Stobaeus § 30 *τἀργύριον εἶναι μειράκιόν σοι φαίνεται Οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθ' ἡμέραν μόνον Τιμὴν παρασχεῖν δυνατόν, ἄρτων, ἀλφίτων, Ὄξους, ἐλαίου, μείζονός τ' ἄλλου τινός*;

322. 'Do I bring you to bay by my stern examples? well, let me dilute my severity with something milder and more adapted to our times. Pray find contentment somewhere, in a knight's revenue (400,000 sesterces), or a couple or even three such incomes; if this won't content you, a Croesus' fortune would not do it.' For 'te cludere' cf. Lukian, Herm. c. 63 *περιέρχῃ με καὶ συνελαύνεις ἐς στενόν*.

323. **summam**. The sum which Otho's law assigns to the fourteen front ranks is the amount of 400,000 sesterces, the income of an *eques*. The law of Roscius Otho, B.C. 65, assigned the fourteen front rows of the theatre to the 'ordo equester.' Juvenal seems to have in mind Horace, Ep. i. 1. 67 and Epod. iv. 15–16.

325. 'But if this, as insufficient, makes you frown and pout.' Cf. Pers. vi. 78 sqq.

326. **tertia quadringenta** = 'duodecies sestertium,' a senator's income. Cf. Suet. Aug. 41.

329. **Narcissi**. Claudius' favourite freedman, whose wealth was proverbial. Cf. Pliny, N. H. xxxii. 10. On the influence gained over the Roman emperors by their freedmen cf. Friedländer, Sittengeschichte der Römer vol. i. 92–95.

331. For the fact cf. Tac. Ann. xi. 30, 30–37.

SATIRE XV.

ON THE RELIGION OF EGYPT.

THE subject of this Satire is a quarrel between the people of Ombos and those of Tentyra, two towns in the Nile valley situate about 100 miles from one another. It appears a little strained in Juvenal to call these two towns neighbours; but it must be remembered that their districts would extend further than the towns, and the distance between the two as the crow flies is less than seventy miles. It seems from line 28, where the scene of the fight is fixed at Koptos, that the Ombites had made a pilgrimage to that city, and were combining worship with a feast and a drunken orgie. The people of Tentyra, only twelve miles distant from Koptos, thought the opportunity too good to be lost, and sallied forth for a faction fight with the revellers.

The Ombites worshipped the crocodile, while the Tentyrites killed and eat it. Reinforcements coming up from Tentyra with arms, the Tentyrites seem to have defeated the Ombites, and a man falling on the ground was torn to pieces and eaten by the pursuers.

The Satire is as a whole so unworthy of Juvenal, that if it were not for some vigorous lines at the beginning, and the very Juvenalian turn of the conclusion, it might readily be set down as spurious. It probably belongs to the last years of Juvenal's life. If we take the reading 'Consule Iunio,' which Macleane and Lewis prefer, the date would be A. D. 119. If we adopt 'Iunco,' from the best MS., it might be referred, in Mr. Mayor's opinion, to A. D. 127. When we remember the account of Juvenal's death in one of the Lives, 'spiritum cum tussi exspuit,' and consider that Egypt was the refuge of consumptive Roman patients (Pliny, Epist. v. 19), it will appear possible that Juvenal went to Egypt for health, chafed at his exile in an uncongenial country, and threw off this sketch of a local atrocity at a time when his poetic powers were weak.

ARGUMENT.

Egypt is noted for superstition; the crocodile, the ibis, the ape, the cat, the fish, the dog, are worshipped, ll. 1–8; they grow their gods in the garden and dare not eat vegetables, yet feed upon human flesh, ll. 9–13. If Ulysses had told such a tale, it would have seemed more incredible than the Cyclops, or than Circe changing his mates into swine, and the Phaeacians, unless drunk, would have scouted him as a liar, ll. 13–25. But Ulysses had no witnesses: I tell of things that happened only lately near Coptos under the consul Juncus, ll. 26–32.

Ombos and Tentyra have long been at feud, because the Tentyrites kill the crocodile and the Ombites worship him, ll. 33–38. The occasion of a feast when the Ombites would be drunk after a seven days' orgie, and staggering or dancing about as they reeked with perfumes, seemed too good to be lost, ll. 39–50. The empty men hate the feasters, and open hostilities with abuse, and then close in with their fists, battering each other's faces till they begin to be indignant that no lives are taken, ll. 51–62. Then they take to fighting with small stones, not such as the Homeric heroes raised, but such as the Gods may look at and laugh, ll. 62–71. Presently reinforcements come up to the Tentyrites, swords are drawn, and arrows discharged, till the Ombites fly in confusion, ll. 72–76. One man, falling down, is torn to pieces, and eaten raw; those who were too late for the flesh licking the blood from the ground, ll. 77–93. The Vascones eat human flesh under the dire compulsion of a siege, when even their enemies pitied them; but what man or god or spirit of the dead would refuse pardon to such an act? ll. 94–106. No doubt Greek philosophy teaches us

that we must die sooner than do some things, but those were not the days when an Attic philosopher was to be found everywhere, and the heroism of the people excuses their offence, ll. 107–115. The Taurians sacrificed strangers, but did not feed on them, ll. 115–119. What hunger or inundation delayed excuses this crime, not of warlike barbarians, but of a cowardly and lazy race sailing about in clay boats gay with paint? ll. 120–128. How can you punish a people in whom hunger and anger pass into one? ll. 129–131. The most distinctly human part of man is the divine faculty of tears. The ward who has been wronged, the family bereaved by premature death, weep, ll. 131–140. What good man does not acknowledge his part in the sufferings of others? and it is this feeling which distinguishes us from brutes, ll. 140–147. This sense of common sympathy has founded cities and united comrades in arms, ll. 147–158. Now it seems as if beasts, which do not prey upon their own kind, were kindlier than men, ll. 159–164. Neither is it enough to have elaborated the arts of murder. We find peoples who devour him whom they have killed, ll. 165–171. What would a vegetarian like Pythagoras say to this? ll. 171–174.

This piece is not, as will be seen from the above analysis, properly speaking, so strictly a satire as a description of a deed of exceptional barbarity and violence committed in Upper Egypt by the Egyptians.

With this Satire should be compared Plutarch de Iside 72, who describes a civil war between Oxyrynchon and Cynopolis in the Heptanomos, waged about the animals they worshipped. The inhabitants of Oxyrynchon worshipped the Oxyrynchus fish and made it into a mummy when it died: an inhabitant of Cynopolis was said to have caught and eaten one of these fishes; so the men of Oxyrynchon attacked the dogs—the gods—of Cynopolis, sacrificed them to their fish-god and ate them.

1. For an explanation of the animal worship of Ancient Egypt see Renouf's Hibbert Lecture, 1879, on the Religion of Ancient Egypt pp. 7, 8, and the History of Art in Ancient Egypt, Perrot and Chipiez, translated by Armstrong. It is agreed by most scholars that the more educated among the Ancient Egyptians saw in the animals which they reverenced merely symbols of the divinity. But the masses, while joining with the upper classes of the nation in worshipping divinities such as Osiris and Horus and Isis, reserved their warmest adoration for the concrete forms of sanctified animals, such as the bull Apis, the ibis, etc. Nothing struck the Greeks and some of the early Christian fathers so much as this animal worship. Thus Clement of Alexandria (Paedagog. iii. 2) says 'the god of the Egyptians is revealed; a beast rolling on a purple couch.'

Volusi. Volusius Bithynicus is unknown. On the prevalence of animal worship in Egypt and its reasons, besides the authority quoted above see Sharpe, History of Egypt chap. i. 'In some cases it was perhaps the usefulness of the animal, and in some the strangeness. Thus the dog and the jackal devoured the carcases which, if left to rot in the streets, might bring disease on the inhabitants.'

The opening line is obviously modelled upon Cic. Tusc. Disp. v. 78 'Aegyptiorum morem quis ignorat? quorum imbutae mentes pravitatis erroribus quamvis carnificinam prius subierint quam ibim aut aspidem aut faelem aut canem aut crocodilon violent, quorum etiam si imprudentes quippiam fecerint, poenam nullam recusent.' Cf. also Cic. de Nat. Deor. iii. 19.

2. Different animals were worshipped in different parts of Egypt, though there were some few which seem to have been the objects of general worship.

3. **pars haec.** Herodotus, ii. 36, tells us that the crocodiles were made into mummies and sent to be buried in the Labyrinth near Crocodilopolis; as was the ibis at Hermopolis.

The ibis does not really eat snakes; though Herodotus ii. 75 speaks of it as doing so.

By careful selection from the sepulchral bas-reliefs we might present reproductions of the whole fauna of Ancient Egypt, the lion, hyena, leopard, jackal, fox, wolf, ibex, gazelle, the hare, the porcupine, etc., etc. Everywhere we find the same aptitude for summarizing the distinctive characteristics of a species (Perrot and Chipiez vol. ii. p. 219).

4. **cercopithecus** (*κέρκος*, cauda), 'the long-tailed ape,' worshipped at Thebes, the seat of worship also of Amenoptris, Pamenophis, and Memnon. Here was the Memnonium, the palace of Rameses II.

5. **dimidio Memnone.** Upon the site of the Amenophium are the remains of two colossal statues of Amenophis III of the eighteenth dynasty, the Pharaoh whom the Greeks, from a similarity of name, identified with Memnon, the son of Aurora and Tithonus, who was killed by Achilles. The Greeks believed that a sound resembling that of a broken harpstring was heard at day-break from one of these Colossi. Some have ascribed the production of this sound to the trickery of the priests; some to the effect of a sudden accession of heat to the chilled air in its crevices. Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. § 58, reports the legend. Strabo, xvii. 1. 46 (816), tells us that he, in company with Gallus Aelius, had heard the sound, which he did not believe was miraculous, though he could not say how it was produced. Hadrian restored one of the Colossi, which sounded thrice in his honour. Pausanias, i. 42. 3, in a curious passage, shows us that the Egyptian scholars of his time did not identify Amenophis with Memnon. 'The Thebans deny that it is Memnon; they declare that it is Phamenoph (*Φαμένοφ*), who was born in their own country.'

Many inscriptions are still to be seen on it dating from Nero to Septimius Severus, attesting that the writers have heard the mystic sounds.

6. **centum portis.** Cf. Hom. Il. ix. 381, Tac. ii. 60.

7. **aeluros.** Most of the MSS. have 'caeruleos:' which has been interpreted as 'salt-water fish' as contrasted with 'piscem fluminis;' the Pithoean has 'aeruleos.' The reading in the text is that generally adopted. Egypt was the home of the cat, which was actually used for the purposes of the chase. The Greeks and Romans domesticated some kind of weasel, and applied the name of *αἴλουρος* to the Egyptian cat. See Hehn p. 376. On Egyptian cat worship see Sharpe, History of Egypt vol. ii. p. 23. Diodorus Siculus, i. 84. § 1, describes how the Egyptian populace killed a Roman soldier who had killed a cat unawares.

8. 'They worship indeed the dog, but not the dog's mistress.' Herodotus however identifies Diana or Artemis with Bubastis (ii. 59).

9. Herodotus notices the vegetable diet of the Egyptians and denies that they eat human flesh. Cf. Aulus Gellius xx. 8 'Eam causam esse dicunt sacerdotes Aegyptii, cur Pelusiotae caepe non edunt: quia solum olerum omnium contra lunae aucta atque damna vices minuendi et augendi habeat contrarias.'

10. Satirical. 'What a pious race, who can grow their own gods in their kitchen-gardens! and how scrupulous! they will not eat goat-flesh, but human flesh they like!'

o sanctas. The so-called accusative of exclamation, which bears the sense of a verb easily supplied. Such accusatives are found with 'en,' 'ecce,' 'heu,' 'pro,' etc. commonly though sometimes without them.

14. 'If Ulysses had told a story as wonderful as this to Alcinoüs, king of Phaeacia (Homer, Od. ix), no one would have believed his unattested tales: but I will tell you a tale at once recent and true and capable of being attested.' Juvenal exaggerates the rarity of cannibalism for the purposes of his rhetoric.

16. **moverat.** 'Maybe he *had* stirred their bile, even as he went on to tell,' 'a lying teller of great feats.'

aretalogus mendax. These were broken-down philosophers who held mock disquisitions on philosophy; Suetonius (Aug. 74) tells us that Augustus introduced them to his table for amusement.

20. **Cyaneae** = *Κυάνεαι*, sc. *δῖναι*. or 'Cyanea,' sc. 'pelage.' This is the name of the sea in which the Symplegades lie—the two islands at the entrance to the Euxine from the Thracian Bosporus. Thus 'Cyaneis' may be an ablative of place. But it seems better to take it as a dative after 'concurrentia:' and Juvenal may either refer to the sea dashing against the rocks; or he may think of the rocks themselves, properly called 'Symplegades,' under the name of 'Cyaneae.' Homer thinks of the *Πλαγκταί* (Od. xii. 59) as near Sicily; Juvenal seems to identify them with the Cyanea of the Argonauts. (Munro takes *Cyaneis* as the dative: the *Cyaneae* being regarded as the whole cliffs of which the *saxa* are the component parts: thus the dative will be the same in sense as the genitive.)

22. Eurylochus and twenty-two of his comrades went to Circe, while Odysseus remained with the rest at the ship; Hom. Od. x. 203

sqq. Eurylochus came back to Odysseus. **Elpenor**, after Odysseus had joined Circe, caught the sound of the stir, and falling backwards, broke his neck. He is not expressly mentioned by Homer as having been transformed into a swine; but the ancients employed the shipmates who were thus transformed as a symbol of incontinence; and thus it was perfectly natural for Juvenal to assume that he was one of those thus transformed.

23. **vacui capitis.** Cf. xiv. 57 'vacuum cerebro caput.' The genitive is of course a genitive of quality, like 'multi Damalis meri' Hor. Od. i. 36. 13.

25. **temetum**, 'old strong wine,' connected with 'temulentus' and 'temulentia.' **abstemius** is he who refrains from such drinks.

26. **sub** with the ablative expresses position under: in silver Latinity it often means little more than 'in the presence of;' so 'sub iudice Sat. vii. 13.

canebat, referring to the measured utterance of the recitations, and by implication to the nonsense recited in them. Cf. the use of the modern French 'chanter.'

27. **consule Iunco.** This is the reading of the Pith. MS. Clem. Cardinali (in Dissertazioni della pontificia Academia Rom. di Archeologia vi. 231, quoted by Weidner) found a tablet, according to which Iuncus was actually consul in the year 127 under Hadrian. Other MSS. read Iunio, which might refer to Q. Iunius Rusticus, who appears to have been consul in the year 119. See Introduction p. xii.

28. **super**, 'above,' i. e. 'south of,' calculating from the sea. Philadelphus made a new port on the rocky coast of the Red Sea, nearly 200 miles to the south of Cosseir (Aenum), and named it Berenice after his mother. The route from Coptos to Berenice was very important from a commercial point of view, as it passed by the emerald mines in the mountain range of red granite and porphyry which runs about thirty miles from the sea.

30. **syrmata**, 'tragic trains,' here metaphorically used for tragedy itself, and thus connected with 'volvas,' which is properly used of books.

A **Pyrra**, as we might say 'from the Deluge down.'

35. **Ombi** and **Tentyra** were really about a hundred miles apart; Tentyra lying to the north of Coptos on the left bank of the Nile, Ombos on the right bank of the Nile a little above Syene. Thus if Juvenal had ever known this part of Egypt, he must have forgotten much about it, when he calls the inhabitants of these two towns 'finitimi.' See Introduction to this Satire p. 215.

37. **cum solos**, a quite un-Roman idea.

39. **alterius populi.** The expression is really too vague: it is of course intended to denote the Ombites: but its very vagueness would seem to be intentional, as if the poet felt sure that his countrymen would not care for such trifles. The Tentyrites attacked the Ombites, and were repulsed by these.

42. Like the Roman 'lectisternia,' but of longer duration.

43. **pervigili toro.** The cushion plied or pressed all night long.

45. **quantum ipse notavi.** Juvenal then had certainly been in Egypt, and it is possible that the notice in the Pseudo-Suetonius is based upon this passage, which alleges that Juvenal was 'per honorem militiae, quamquam octogenarius urbe summotus missusque ad praefecturam cohortis in extrema parte tendentis Aegypti' (quoted by Mayor). See Introduction p. vii.

46. We need not conclude from this passage, with Ribbeck, that Juvenal did not know that Canopus was in Egypt; he merely contrasts 'Aegyptus barbara'—un-Greek Egypt—with licentious Canopus, which was an international home for great luxury. **famosus** is 'notorious.' 'Luxuria' is used in a slightly wider sense than usual to cover the refinement of cruelty evinced by cannibalism in the one case, and that evinced by Canopic profligacy on the other.

47. **adde.** For the connection we must go back to v. 40 sqq.

madere is the regular word 'for to be drunk.' Cf. 'plane mattus sum' Petron. 41. The Egyptians drank large quantities of a kind of beer. Cf. Strabo xvii. 1. 14, Diodor. i. 34, Colum. x. 114.

49. **nigro.** They had a negro piper and such unguents as they could afford—implying that they had none of the luxuries of Lower Egypt.

51. They begin with taunts. Cf. 'iurgia proludunt' v. 36.

52. **tuba.** The signal for a general fray, as the 'tuba' was for real battle.

55. **aut** = 'or rather;' see Hand, Tursell. i. 539.

57. **alias**, disfigured, so as not to be known for their own.

61. **quo** with accusative is characteristically Juvenalian. Cf. viii. 90.

64. The regular missiles in a riot at home as contrasted with a foreign war. Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 150. 'Domesticum bellum' is a regular expression for 'a riot.'

65. **Turnus**, Verg. xii. 896. **Aias**, Hom. Il. vii. 268. **Tydeus**, Hom. Il. v. 302.

69, 70. Satirical application of Homer's words. Homer was a Greek, and comes in for some of the incredulity bestowed on 'Graecia mendax.'

71. **ridet**, 'at their size;' **odit**, 'their malice.'

72. Let us resume the story from its digression.

73. **aucti** and **pars altera** both refer to the *Ombitae*. The form Ombi for Ombitae seems used on the analogy of Memphi, Bactri, etc.

76. **praestare terga** is used in a like way in Tac. Agr. xxxvii.

palmae. 'To the south of Thebes is the open plain broken only by palm groves' (Sharpe chap. ii). The lines are mock heroic: and the contrast between the calm retreat of the umbrageous palms and the miserable fugitives is intentional.

82. **usque adeo** would in classical Latin be 'adeo' merely.

83. **focos** for **ignem**. Cf. French 'feu,' formed from 'focum' in the sense of 'fire.'

86. **te**, probably 'thee, O fire!' The poet speaks as if he saw the fire leap up in joy.

87. The sense is, they were born cannibals: the first who tasted the human flesh thought it was the daintiest of morsels: we shudder at the fearful crime, *for* we actually ask whether any one could have got any pleasure out of it: *nay*, I answer the last, who drained the last drops of blood, had as much pleasure as the first.

93. **Vascones**, the Basques, the original inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula, in the modern Navarre. Their town Calagurris—the modern Calahorra—on the upper Ebro, held out in the cause of Sertorius, and when beleaguered by Pompey's legate, Afranius, they practised cannibalism (Val. Max. vii. 6). Their case was different—says Juvenal—*they* were reduced to extremities.

104. **urbibus**; P, according to Beer, reads 'urbibus' for the commonly received 'ventribus:' '"Viribus" sine dubio ab altera manu profectum est.' For the sentiment cf. Dryden, Hind and Panther 245

'Beasts are the subject of tyrannic sway:
Where still the weaker on the stronger prey:
Man only of a nobler mould is made,
Not for his fellow's ruin, but their aid:
Created kind, magnificent and free,
The noble image of the deity.'

107. **Zenonis**. The founder of the Stoic school, who taught that man should die rather than do wrong. For the doctrine of the Stoics in general see Lecky, European Morals vol. i. 135, and Zeller's Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics chap. iii. p. 38; a very different doctrine from that popularly ascribed to them, as by Byron—

'To feel for none is the true social art
Of the world's Stoics—men without a heart.'

108. **sed Cantaber;** 'But where could we find a Cantabrian Stoic, especially in the time of antiquated Metellus? Nowadays the schoolmaster is among us.' Cantabria is used loosely for the whole of the north of Spain, including the Basque territory; and 'Cantaber' is even used as the typical name for any barbarian. 'Antiquus' is used by Augustan writers to designate anything or anyone pre-Augustan.

110. He calls Rome 'nostrae Athenae' as being not merely the *παίδευσις τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Thuc. ii. 41), but the *κοινὸν παιδευτήριον πάντων ἀνθρώπων*, as Diodorus calls it.

111. Tac. Agr. 21 remarks on the same thing.

112. **Thyle**: used by the ancients to denote the extreme north: possibly Iceland or one of the Shetlands.

113. However, the people of Calagurris proved themselves noble by their bravery and loyalty: those of Saguntum were not less so, though they suffered still more, cf. Livy xxi. 8; but Saguntum was razed to the ground, while at least the walls of Calagurris were spared.

116. **illa Taurica inventrix**. Artemis, who had an altar on the Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea), on which the shipwrecked were sacri-

ficed; cf. Goethe's Iphigenie auf Tauris. (For the developments and different manners of treating the Greek myth see England's 'Iphigeneia in Tauris' Intr. p. vii. sqq.)

119. **quis modo.** 'What sad chance, *and nothing more?*' Weidner cites Cic. Tusc. v. 66 'Quis est omnium qui modo cum Musis habeat aliquod commercium?'

122. 'Could they, in the extremity of drought, when the Nile would not rise as usual, do any fouler deed to cause the Nile-god to fall into obloquy for not rising?' **nolenti** = *ἀέκοντι ἄν*, 'si nollet.'

124. **Britones.** Cf. Hor. iii. 4. 33 'Britannos hospitibus feros.' It is scanned in Martial xi. 21. 9 'Brītōnis.'

125. The **Sauromatae**, or Sarmatae, inhabited Prussia, Poland, and Russia. The 'que' continues the negation uniting 'Sauromatae' closely to 'Britones;' hence '*aut* Agathyrsi' for '*et* Agathyrsi.' These were a tribe in Transylvania spoken of by Verg. Aen. iv. 146 as 'picti,' 'tattooed.'

126. We have seen that it is a characteristic of Juvenal to avoid mention of the name of a nation or person by substituting for it some marked peculiarities of those or him who bore the name: thus the Egyptians, he says, are a useless and unwarlike people; their business is not with arms, but with the most miserable kind of river traffic; and in their wars they show an equally miserable and childish spirit.

127. Strabo describes the Egyptian boats of earthenware (p. 788). Vergil, Georg. iv. 289 'et circum pictis vehitur sua rura phaselis,' i. e. they sail over their farms when the Nile overflows. Modern travellers describe earthenware rafts as in use in Upper Egypt to the present day. **phaselus**, 'a skiff' so called because it was shaped like a French bean, as 'gondola' comes from *κόνδυ* a cup. Diez, Wörterbuch p. 408.

128. **incumbere.** Their oars are short, yet they have to put their whole weight into them; their boat is a 'testa,' and even that is 'picta.'

131. Suffering and the sight of suffering raises in these people wrath and cruelty instead of fortitude and pity.

133. Mayor quotes Pliny, N. H. vii. § 2 'flens animal ceteris imperaturum.'

For the opinion of the ancients as to weeping, see Lessing, Laocoon i. 'Der Grieche schämte sich keiner der menschlichen Schwachheiten; keine musste ihn aber auf dem Wege nach Ehre und von Erfüllung seiner Pflicht zurückhalten.' The Greek was ashamed of no weaknesses that are human; but no one dare hold him back in the path to honour, nor from the fulfilment of his duty. The Roman soldiers shed tears, as is told by Caesar, B. G. v. 33. See Forsyth's 'Life of Cicero' p. 533.

135. **squalorem**, i. e. 'squalorem amici causam dicentis squaloremque rei;' cf. Hor. Od. iii. 1. 12 'Moribus hic meliorque fama' for 'moribus hic melior meliorque fama.' The idea of the accused party in a suit putting on mourning in which to appear in court is quite opposed to modern notions of dignity, but was quite in accordance with ancient ideas. Cicero did so.

136. **cuius**, of course, refers to 'pupillus,' the word on which the

stress is laid; though, strictly speaking, it would refer to 'circumscriptorem.'

137. His girlish locks make his tearful face hard to recognize as a boy's.

139. Because children who died before they had any teeth were always buried and not burnt; cf. Plin. N. H. vii. 72.

140. 'What thoroughly perfect man, such as might serve as δᾳδοῦχος in the Eleusinian mysteries, ever regards any human sorrow as indifferent to himself?' The Eleusinian mysteries were popularised in Rome by Claudius and Hadrian. Great purity of life was expected from the initiated.

142. A reference to the proverbial verse of Terence, Heaut. i. 1. 29 'homo sum, humani nil a me alienum puto.'

143. None but men have received a character capable of feeling respect. The succeeding lines are a development of the thought expressed in Aristotle, Eth. N. i. 5 φύσει πολιτικὸς ἄνθρωπος. Cf. Hor. A. P. 391–407 and Sat. i. 3. 100.

M. Aurelius Antoninus is full of reflections of this kind; cf. ii. 1. Long's Edition. 'We are made for co-operation like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth;' cf. also ib. iii. 4; iv. 4; v. 16, etc.

147. **prona**. The thought is from Ovid, Met. i. 84, but seems to have been a commonplace; cf. Sallust, Cat. 1 'prona atque ventri oboedientia.' Cf. Burns, Man was made to mourn—

> 'And man, whose heaven-directed face
> The smiles of love adorn:
> Man's inhumanity to man
> Makes countless thousands mourn.'

Thus Coleridge in the Address to the young Ass—

> 'And most unlike the nature of things young
> That earthward still thy moveless head is hung.'

149. **anima**, 'the breath of life;' **animus**, 'the thinking faculty.'

150. On the early state of mankind see Cic. pro Sext. 40 (§ 91). Hume in his essay on Justice quotes the passage and disputes its correctness.

160. **cognatis maculis**, 'her spotted kin.' Cf. Hor. Epod. vii. 11 'neque hic lupis mos nec fuit leonibus Numquam nisi in dispar feris.' Juvenal's moral is that man must have fallen from a state of innocence, in which state the animals live. Vergil has the same thought of the innocence of animals, Aen. iv. 551 'Degere more ferae tales nec tangere curas.' Pliny, H. N. viii. § 5, has a passage very similar to this, 'leonum feritas inter se non dimicat.'

165–174. But man now thinks nothing of forging weapons to slay his fellow-man; *though* men of the early world knew only how to forge implements of agriculture.

170. The expression in full would have been 'sed qui crediderint.' **vultus** means the changing expression of the face as contrasted with 'facies,' but in silver Latinity the former is used for the latter.

173. 'What would Pythagoras, who went to Egypt to learn philosophy,

say, could he see the degenerate state of Egypt now?' Cf. Cic. de Divin. i. § 62 'Pythagoricis interdictum ne faba vescerentur.'

SATIRE XVI.

ON MILITARY LIFE: A FRAGMENT.

THIS Satire is either unfinished or mutilated, and as it falls below Juvenal's ordinary level, its genuineness has been doubted. As Macleane remarks, however, it is difficult to suppose that a forger of some ability would only produce a fragment. Besides, the fatalism of ll. 4–6 is very Juvenalian, and Vagellius, who is attacked l. 23, is made a butt in Satire xiii. 119. The former of these coincidences at least is not likely to be a forgery.

The cast of thought and the diction, then, on the whole, would appear to favour the opinion of those who hold it to be genuine, and the versification seems to be eminently characteristic of Juvenal. Priscian (viii. 31 and 82, ver. 2) and Servius (Aen. i. 16, ver. 6, ii. 106, ver. 42) quote this Satire as being a genuine production of Juvenal's. Weidner and others have pointed out that the composition is obviously unfinished, for while the poet promises to give us a list of the common advantages of officers and private soldiers, he has given us nothing but certain instances of the *communia commoda*. The question then presents itself, was the Satire left in its fragmentary and unfinished state by Juvenal, or has a portion of it been lost? Beer, in his Spicilegium Iuvenalianum, gives good reasons for believing that the latter supposition is the true one. The last quaternion of the Pithoean MS. contains folia 72–79, the last folio being tacked on to the end. The principal fact bearing out this supposition is that the sixtieth verse of Satire xvi. occurs in the last line of the last page, at the end of the tenth quaternion, that is, at the end of the whole book, as the ancients had it. And whereas the beginnings and endings of all the other books are accurately marked, no mark is attached to the end of this Satire.

It is tempting to speculate in what way the poem was to be completed. Juvenal, if he is the author, never attacks the profession of a soldier in his other writings, but complains bitterly that the soldier was defrauded of his proper reward because promotion went by favour, vii. 92, xiv. 195–197, or because the higher commands were poorly paid, iii. 132, 133. It seems possible that the Satire was intended to show ironically that all the soldier's gains were in certain privileges of dubious equity. He could transfer a civil suit to a military tribunal, where the plaintiff would not dare to follow him; he could get justice without the delays of law; he could will away his own property without reference to his father's wishes; and of course his promotion is fair, for it helps a general very much if his bravest men are correspondingly

fortunate. But we may assume Juvenal to have continued in some such train of thought as this—if the man who has made a razzia among the Moors, or demolished the forts of the Brigantes, expects the command due to his merit, he will find that prefects and tribunes are made by court favour, and are nominated for merits quite unconnected with service in arms. It seems a not impossible supposition that this conclusion has been suppressed as dangerous. Prof. Nettleship thinks that the attacks on military life which characterize Persius and Juvenal, may be an echo from the stage, of which the 'miles gloriosus' had long been a familiar property.

ARGUMENT.

Who can enumerate the rewards of a fortunate soldier, for all depends on fortune, which is even more efficacious than patronage? ll. 1–6.

The soldier's first reward is that he may pummel his enemy without fear of being brought to justice for it, ll. 7–12. The old law that a soldier must not run away from the camp to plead in the courts, means that any man prosecuting a case before a military tribunal has to run the gauntlet through files of soldiers sympathising with their comrade and wearing hob-nailed boots, ll. 13–25. No friend will attend to give evidence for you in such a case. It is easier to find false witnesses for a civil court, than men who will testify to the truth against a soldier, ll. 25–34.

Then again, if I have sustained a civil wrong, I have to abide the interminable delays of the law, ll. 35–47; but soldiers, in consideration of their calling, are allowed a prompt hearing, ll. 48–50. Soldiers, too, are the only men who can dispose of their property by will during a father's lifetime, ll. 51–54. Accordingly, the soldier who has made prize-money may count his father among his parasites, ll. 54-56; then again, his promotion is fair, for is it not the general's interest that the bravest man shall be advanced? ll. 56-60.

1. **felicis.** 'Military service *if* fortunate; *for*, if I only felt that the legion I were joining was a lucky one I should be tempted myself to enlist.' Weidner, following O. Jahn, assumes that a verse has fallen out after verse 2, for Juvenal is assuming that the army as a profession is happy and prosperous, and why then should he separate one branch of it (castra) from the rest, and select it as of specially fortunate chances? but as the thought seems to be 'Luck has more to do with prosperity than even a special message to the god of war from his mistress or his mother,' it does not seem necessary to assume any lacuna. He seems to regard the 'felix' as exceptionally blest. Cf. Sat. vii. 190.

praemia, such as pay and special bounties on discharge.

Galli is the reading of P. Gallius is an unknown friend of Juvenal, possibly the worthy lawyer mentioned in vii. 144.

5. The thought and diction alike in the witty verses 5 and 6 are eminently characteritsic of Juvenal, especially the periphrasis to express Juno.

Cf. Sat. xv. 126, where, instead of mentioning the Egyptians, he describes them.

7–34. Let us first discuss the advantages common to all ranks alike, officers and men: there is a 'camaraderie' in the army that makes all soldiers cling together; it is hard to get justice for an injury inflicted by a soldier.

7. **communia**, common to officers and soldiers alike. It will be noticed that the Satire breaks off suddenly without mentioning what were the special privileges of either of these two classes.

8. **ne**. We should rather have expected 'ut non;' but the sense is 'this will be found your greatest privilege: don't let any civilian venture to strike you if you wear uniform: nay, even though he get a thrashing, let him hide it!' The common interpretation is that lines 7 and 8 contain the idea 'quod cautum est,' which would naturally be followed by 'ne.'

togatus. Properly applied to a Roman citizen; a provincial who was not a civis Romanus would be called 'paganus.'

10. The repetition of **audeat** is emphatic. 'Dares, say I? why he dares not even go to the praetor with the marks of his violence upon him.' The victim goes to the praetor urbanus' for justice and gets referred to a military tribunal.

11. **offam**, 'the dark clot of discoloured swellings.'

12. **relictum**, given over as incurable.

13. **Bardaicus**, with 'calceus.' A Bardaic shoe, i. e. a centurion. The Bardaici or Vardaici were an Illyrian tribe mentioned by Pliny, N. H. iii. 23. 26, and called by Ptolemy, ii. 17. 8 Οὐαρδαῖοι. This tribe gave the name to the heavy military boots worn by the centurions; see Martial, iv. 4. 5 'Lassi vardaicus quod evocati.' An ordinary court-martial was presided over by 'tribuni militum,' but as in this case one of the parties was a civilian, a special tribunal was appointed for the case, with only a centurion to preside over it and common soldiers as assessors. The 'calceus' is the mark of the centurion; the 'caliga' of the 'gregarius miles.'

14. **grandes magna ad subsellia**. The bench had to be ponderous to support its huge occupant.

15. **more Camilli**, 'keeping to the standing rule of Camillus,' who introduced many military reforms (Liv. v. 2), amongst others a standing army.

17. '*Say then* that the trial of you by the centurion's court proceeds with perfect justice; *still*, you make every soldier your enemy.' The present is used concessively.

20. 'The whole cohort and each maniple in it (it contained three) has *esprit de corps* enough to consider you its enemy, and to see that your revenge costs you dear.'

21. **curabilis** seems to mean 'requiring medical treatment,' just as 'castigabilis' (quoted by Mayor) means 'demanding chastisement' in Plaut. Trinummus 44.

22 sq. 'Besides, it would be difficult to find a witness in your case: he would have to live far away from the praetorians in town and to be a very Pylades.'

22. Weidner understands **vindicta** of the verdict given against the soldier, which is rendered by his comrade 'curabilis,' i.e. 'consolatory' to him, by all kinds of personal attentions and chiefly by injuries inflicted on you as a civilian.

23. The mule was the type of stupidity. Cf. Catull. lxxxiii. 3 'mule nihil sentis,' and Plaut. Cist. iv. 2. 12 'mulo inscitior.' Vagellius is mentioned in the same way in xiii. 119.

26. 'That he would dare to penetrate the **agger** and pass into the camp.'

29. 'If the president says, Produce your witness! and the witness dares to appear, I should class him with the ancient worthies of Rome.' Varro expressly tells us that barbers were not introduced into Italy till B.C. 300; hence we often find long hair spoken of as a symbol of archaic simplicity. Cf. Hor. Od. ii. 15. 11 'intonsi Catonis.'

33. **paganus**. Properly, as we have seen, used of a provincial civilian; though sometimes used even of a 'civis Romanus.' Cf. Plin. Ep. Traian. 86 B 'et milites et pagani.'

34. **fortunam**, 'his interest;' **pudorem**, 'his honour.'

35. 'Another advantage enjoyed by soldiers is that their suits are soon settled.'

38. **sacrum saxum**, the Terminus, honoured at the Terminalia in February with offerings of cake and spelt.

41. Alleging that the signature is worthless and the tablet useless; as we might say, that the signature is not worth the paper on which it is written. The same line occurs in Satire xiii. 137.

42. 'We shall have to wait a whole year before the suits of the entire nation are considered;' the meaning surely is that we shall find the civil courts so full of long-standing cases that we, and with us the whole nation, are waiting to begin ours.

43. **tunc quoque**, 'even then, if our cause does come on.'

44. 'The cushions are put on the bench by the apparitores, but nothing more is done.'

45. The advocates are actually getting ready to speak, and putting off the 'lacerna' which they wore outside the 'toga,' as they had to appear in court in the 'toga,' the distinctive dress of the Roman citizen.

47. 'And thus we fight our lawsuits in the dilatory lists of the law court.'

51–60. A third privilege of soldiers is that they have a right to the 'peculium castrense,' whether their father be alive or not; and hence their fathers are more than ordinarily considerate in their treatment of them.

52. During the lifetime of the father the son is not 'sui iuris,' and possesses therefore no property of his own. On the other hand, no one can touch the 'peculium castrense' of the soldier; and, if he sees fit, he can bequeath it to his father or to any one else.

54. **omne regimen**, 'absolute control.'

Coranum. The name is probably taken from Hor. Sat. ii. 5. 55.

56. **hunc**, i.e. one like Coranus.

labor aequus. 'He gets the fitting reward of his fighting. 'Labor' is the proper expression for the toil of battle.

57. **sua dona**, such as the 'donativum' after successfully carrying a town or a camp.

60. **phalerae**, bosses of gold or silver joined so as to form a necklace.

torques, a gold collar for the neck. 'Miles torquatus' is a soldier who had been presented with such an ornament as a reward of valour.

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